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THE CONGREGATIONAL LECTURE.

TENTH SERIES.

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ON THE SACRAMENTS.

BY THE REV. R. HALLEY, D.D.

LONDON:  
REED AND PARDON, PRINTERS,  
PATERNOSTER ROW.

THE SACRAMENTS.

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AN INQUIRY

INTO THE NATURE OF

THE SYMBOLIC INSTITUTIONS OF THE  
CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

USUALLY CALLED

THE SACRAMENTS.

BY ROBERT HALLEY, D.D.

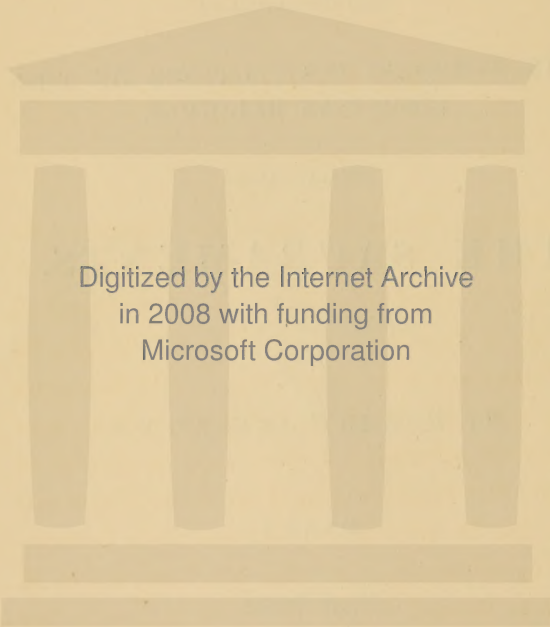
PART I.

*Second Edition.*

LONDON:  
JACKSON AND WALFORD,  
18, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD.

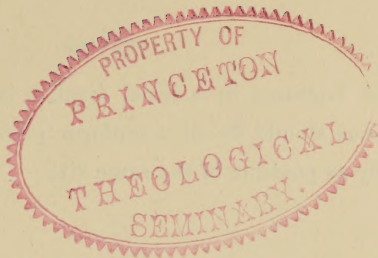
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## PREFACE.

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IN preparing a Second Edition of the Lectures on the Sacraments, although I have made many alterations which, I trust, may be called corrections, I have introduced no new matter, as I wished the book to be substantially the same as it appeared in the first edition. A few statements have been modified; one or two arguments omitted; some unkind phrases softened, and others suppressed, with no small regret that they ever escaped me in the heat of controversy. On the most careful review of these Lectures, after having attentively read what has been written in opposition to them, I can see no reason to abandon any principle for which I have contended, nor to modify any important argument by which it has been maintained.

To divide the course more equally, I have reserved the Lecture on the subjects of Christian Baptism for the second volume, as, in publishing a cheap edition of the Congrega-

tional Lectures in a serial form, it is necessary that the volumes should be of a uniform price, and, therefore, as nearly as possible of the same size.

ROBERT HALLEY.

PLYMOUTH GROVE, MANCHESTER,

*September, 1854.*

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# THE SACRAMENTS.

## PART I.

### LECTURE I.

ON THE TERM 'SACRAMENT,' AND THE SEVERAL INSTITUTIONS TO WHICH IT HAS BEEN APPROPRIATED.

"And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's law may be in thy mouth."

*Exodus xiii. 9.*

"Sacramentum dicitur sacrum signum, sive sacrum secretum. Multa se quidem fiunt propter se tantum, alia vero propter alia designantur, et ipsa dicuntur signa, et sunt. Ut enim de usualibus sumamus exemplum, datur annulus absolutè propter annulum, et multa est significatio: datur ad investiendum de hæreditate aliqua et signum est; ita ut jam dicere possit, qui accipit; annulus non valet quicquam, sed hæreditas est quam querebam. Ad hoc instituta sunt omnia sacramenta."

*St. Bernard. Sermo I. in Cena Domini.*

ON commencing these Lectures, I am somewhat perplexed in attempting to form such a definition of a sacrament, as will include *Baptism* and the *Lord's Supper*, and exclude every other ordinance of the Christian religion. To show what these ordinances have in common, so as to entitle them to be classified under one term, is more than I can do, or can find already done to my satisfaction. Were I to adopt the very comprehensive definition of St. Augustine, who says that "a sacrament is the visible sign of a sacred thing," I should include within the compass

of these terms many things which are not by Protestants, nor even by Catholics, denominated sacraments. That baptism and the Lord's supper have usually been comprised under one generic term, has, I believe, been the occasion of some serious error, and of much illogical reasoning: as many persons, assuming the correspondence between them, have confidently reasoned from the acknowledged character of one ordinance to the disputable points of the other. Yet, as I propose to lecture on what are generally called The Sacraments, it will be expected that I state what I mean by the term; while, through the discussion, I guard against the fallacy of assuming a coincidence in things that differ, because they are, for mere convenience, included in a common designation.

It would be in vain to consult the New Testament for any exposition of a sacrament. In a book that has so little of systematic formulary, no term is employed to comprise the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's supper, or to designate their connexion or coincidence. Nor can the exact definition be obtained from the records of ecclesiastical antiquity; for, although the Greek fathers called both baptism and the eucharist *mysteries*, as the Latins called them *sacraments*, innumerable other things are also in their writings called mysteries or sacraments. If it be asked, how many sacraments were acknowledged by the church of the second or the third century, we can only reply that, in the latitude in which the word was then used, almost every religious ordinance or sacred emblem was called a sacrament. Although the Romish church acknowledges seven sacraments, yet her authorised definition is not inapplicable to baptism and the Lord's supper, as those rites are regarded by the English and the Lutheran church. In the Tridentine Catechism, a sacrament is defined to be "a sensible thing, which, by

Divine appointment, hath the power of *causing*, as well as of *signifying*, holiness and righteousness."\*

The form of instruction known as the Catechism of Heidelberg, drawn up for the reformed church of the Palatinate, and generally adopted by the Calvinists of Germany, contains the following definition:—

“What are the Sacraments?”

“They are holy visible signs and seals, ordained by God for this end, that he may more fully declare and seal by them the promise of his Gospel unto us; to wit, that not only unto all believers in general, but unto each of them in particular, he freely giveth remission of sins and life eternal, upon the account of that only sacrifice of Christ, which he accomplished upon the cross.”

The precise doctrine of this answer seems to be, that a sacrament is an assurance to the person who worthily receives it of the blessings of the covenant of grace. To the same import is the definition of the Church of Scotland, in her larger Catechism:—“A Sacrament is a holy ordinance, instituted by Christ in his church, to signify, seal, and exhibit, unto those within the covenant of grace, the benefits of his mediation; to strengthen and increase their faith, and all other graces; to oblige them to obedience; to testify and cherish their love and communion one with another; and to distinguish them from those that are without.” In the twenty-fifth Article of the Church of England, it is said, “Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men’s profession, but rather they be sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace, and God’s good-will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our faith in him.” Some theological writers speak of the sacraments as *federal rites*, by which we formally and avowedly accept

\* Catech. Trident. Part 2, n. 10.

the covenant of grace, and append our seals to it. With many writers both of the Church of England and of the Nonconformists, the sacraments are represented as seals in respect both of God's assurance to us, and of our engagement with him. Thus Burnet, in his Exposition of the Articles, says, "In the new dispensation, though our Saviour has eased us of that law of ordinances, that grievous yoke, and those beggarly elements, which were laid upon the Jews, yet, since we are still in the body, subject to our senses and to sensible things, he has appointed some federal actions to be both the visible stipulations and professions of our Christianity, and the conveyances to us of the blessings of the Gospel." Dr. Ridgeley says, "The sacraments are God's seals, as they are ordinances given by him for the confirmation of our faith, that he would be our covenant God; and they are our seals, as we set our seals thereunto when we visibly profess that we give up ourselves to him to be his people, and in the exercise of a true faith, look to be partakers of the benefits which Christ hath purchased according to the terms of the covenant." Doddridge, but more cautiously, as he was wont, says,\* "Those rites of the Christian institution, which were intended to be solemn tokens of our accepting the Gospel covenant, peculiar to those who did so accept it, and to be considered by them as tokens of the Divine acceptance, on that supposition may properly be called seals of the covenant." Mr. Watson, in his "Theological Institutes,"† maintains the same doctrine of the sacraments as federal rites and confirming seals, and considers such Protestants as hold them to be only symbolical institutions, whose sole use is to cherish pious sentiments, or to be the badges of a Christian profession, as carelessly leaning to the opinion of Socinus and his followers. At present, I notice these views merely to observe that I cannot admit the proper definition of a

\* Lect. cc.

† Pt. iv. ch. 2.



sacrament to be a federal rite, or in that sense a seal of the covenant. Notwithstanding the weight of Protestant, and even Nonconformist authority against me, my objection to the primary doctrine implied in these definitions, that to those who worthily receive them the sacraments are seals, or assurances of their personal interest in the covenant of grace, will be hereafter plainly stated for the consideration of my readers.

The sacraments have been designated "*positive institutions*," as distinguished from moral duties; but there are, or have been, many positive institutions which are not usually called sacraments; the sabbath, for instance, was a positive institution of the Jewish church, as is the Lord's-day of the Christian, but neither of these festivals is called a sacrament. They are said to be "*symbolic observances*," but every part of the Jewish ritual was symbolic, and so, where it is observed, is the imposition of hands in the ordination to the ministry: but this is not by Protestants called a sacrament, although Calvin, in the extended signification of the word, admits ordination to be a sacrament;\* and Melanchthon does not scruple to call orders, or the imposition of hands, a sacrament.†

Some have defined a sacrament as if it consisted in *the consecration to a sacred purpose of a common thing*, as the water in baptism, or the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, hence called the elements of the sacrament. Thus Hobbes of Malmesbury, a strange authority, some may think, on this subject, but he expressed a current opinion, says, "A sacrament is a separation of some visible thing from common use, and a consecration of it to God's service, for a sign either of our admission into the kingdom of God, to be of the number of his peculiar people, or for a commemoration of the same. In the Old Testament the sign of admission was circumcision; in the New Testament, baptism. The commemoration of it in the

\* Inst. iv. 19, 31.

† Apolog. Conf. De Num. et Usu Sacram.

Old Testament was the eating, at a certain time which was anniversary, of the paschal lamb; and in the New Testament, the celebrating of the Lord's supper."\* Our objection is, that the essence of the sacrament is in the acts performed, and not in the elements selected, or in the consecration of them. The eating of the lamb was the passover, not the lamb which was eaten, nor yet the consecrating of it.

Without attempting any logical definition of a sacrament, I at present remark that I consider baptism to be the initiatory rite, and the Lord's supper the commemorative institution of the Christian church, and both of them symbolic representations of evangelical truth.

The word *sacramentum*, etymologically and in its most extensive signification, denotes anything sacred. Its earliest use, so far as we know, was to denote the sum of money deposited, according to a very ancient law of the Romans, by the parties in a suit, under the care of the Pontifex, to be recovered by the party who might gain the cause, and to be forfeited by him who might lose it, to a sacred purpose. The very laudable object of this sacramentum, or sacred money, was to discourage frivolous and vexatious suits, and to punish litigious people. Hence a sacrament came to denote a pledge, any sacred obligation, and more specifically the oath of the soldiers in swearing allegiance to their commander.

The word is frequently found, not only in the Vulgate, but in the older Latin versions, as the translation of the Greek term *μυστήριον*, mystery. The translators seem to have employed it to denote a sign of truth. The services designated by it were, at an early period, regarded as revealing some important doctrines to the faithful. As the Greek Christians, familiar with the mystic rites and initiations of their countrymen, called the sacred symbols of their faith the holy mysteries: so the Latins, selecting

\* Leviathan, pt. iii. ch. 35.

the word sacramentum as the most appropriate to express the same signification, called the symbolic rites of their church sacraments. Although the word mystery in the New Testament, is never applied to either of the symbolic institutions of the Gospel; yet as they were called mysteries at so early a period by the Greeks, the Latin translators, accustomed to this use of the word, very naturally introduced sacramentum for the *μυστήριον* of the original. And even in passages where the older Latin versions, as well as the Vulgate, retain the Greek word in its Latinized form "mysterium," the Latin Fathers often substitute the word sacramentum, as St. Augustine in reply to a person, who, on account of his baptism, claimed to be regenerate, says: "Hear the apostle, If I know all sacraments," (in the original, as in the Vulgate, mysteries,) "and all knowledge, and have faith so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing."\* The Latin word sacrament and the Greek word mystery, both in the older Latin versions and in the Vulgate, as well as by the Latin Fathers, although there was no original affinity between them, seem to have been used indifferently. Thus we have both in the old Latin and in the Vulgate, 2 Thess. ii. 7, "The mystery of iniquity;" but in 1 Tim. iii. 16, "The sacrament of godliness." So we have in the Apocalypse, the sacrament of the seven stars, and again the sacrament of the woman in scarlet clothing, and her name is said to be in the Vulgate, Mystery, but in the older version, Sacrament.

As the Greek noun *μυστήριον*, derived from a verb which denotes to instruct in sacred things, to initiate, meant a sacred thing to be promulgated only among the initiated; †

\* Sed habeo, inquit, sacramentum. Audi apostolum si sciam omnia sacramenta, et habeam omnem fidem ita ut montes transferam, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil sum. August. in 1 Epist. Joan. Tractat. v.

† The Greek Fathers call the baptized "τοὺς Χριστῷ τελουμένους," Clem. Alex. Pæd. lib. iii. cap. 11; as they frequently employ the words *τελείος* and *τελείωσις* in this sense.

not an ordinary secret, but according to the definition of Phavorinus, "a solemn thing not to be told;" so the Latin Fathers used the word *sacramentum* in the same sense and with the same restriction: and as the mysteries of the Greeks came to denote not only the sacred things themselves, but also their symbols, (the new sense, *ritu juvenum*, becoming the more prevalent,) so in the Latin churches the *sacramentum* is sometimes the sacred truth of the Gospel, and sometimes (the more frequently the later we proceed) the symbol of that sacred truth. Thus with Tertullian, of *sacred truths* the Christian religion is a sacrament,\* the doctrine of the Trinity is a sacrament of the economy,† sacred mystery reserved for the initiated is the *tacitum sacramentum*,‡ the resurrection of the dead is a kind of sacrament;§ and so of *sacred emblems*, dreams sent from God are sacraments,|| the cross is a sacrament of wood,¶ the anointing of our Saviour by the Holy Ghost is the sacrament of the unction,\*\* the imposition of Jacob's hands upon the sons of Joseph, crossing each other, is an ancient sacrament,†† monogamy is the sacrament of priests and deacons,‡‡ baptism the sacrament of water or of washing,§§ and the Lord's supper the sacrament of thanksgiving.¶¶ It is evident that Tertullian unscrupulously applied the word to any religious rite whatsoever, although he sometimes employs it in the more classical sense of a solemn engagement, as in the address "ad Martyras." "We were," he says, "called to the warfare of the living God, when we answered in the words of the sacrament."¶¶ By the sacrament he evidently means the baptismal vow of obedience, demanded by the ancient

\* Apol. i. 15.

+ Adv. Prax. c. 2, *οικονομίας* sacramentum.

† De Præscript. Hæret. c. 26.

§ De Res. Carn. c. 21, *species sacramenti*.

|| Adv. Psych. c. 7.

¶¶ Adv. Jud. c. 13.

\*\* Adv. Prax. c. 28.

++ De Bapt. c. 8.

‡‡ De Monog. c. 11.

§§ De Bapt. c. 1, 12. De Virg. vel. c. 2.

||| De Coronâ, c. 3.

¶¶ c. 3.



church, including the renunciation and the profession of Christ.\*

Cyprian uses the word *sacramentum* in the same sense and with the same latitude as his master. According to him the Eucharist is the sacrament of the cross; † water is one sacrament, and the Spirit is another of which we must be regenerated, the sign and the thing signified being regarded as two sacraments. ‡ Augustine, however, treating of the same subject, (and his language shows, that in his time the term was becoming limited in its signification to the symbol rather than to the truth signified,) speaks only of the water as the sacrament, and not of the Spirit. He says, § “ One thing, therefore, is the water of the sacrament, another the water which signifies the Spirit of God. The water of the sacrament is visible, the water of the Spirit invisible. That washes the body, and signifies what is done in the soul; by this Spirit the soul itself is cleansed.” Precisely in the same manner Jerome, Am-

\* This form is by other Latin Fathers, called the *Promissum*, the *Pactum*, the *Votum*, the *Professio*, the *Cautio*. Even here, however, the word might have been suggested by the symbolic service rather than by the pledge or engagement. He also applies the term to supernatural gifts—*charismata*. *De Anima*, cap. 9.

† *De Zelo et Livore*, c. viii. *De Sacramento Crucis et cibum sumis et potum*. So I understand the passage, but there are other expositions. See Routh's *Opuscula*, i. 342. Cyprian's correspondent, Firmilian, speaks of the Passover among the “*multa alia divinæ rei sacramenta*.” (*Ep. ad Cyp. c. ix.*) He also, in connexion with the Eucharist, speaks of the “*sacramentum solitæ predicationis*,” by which may be intended, as Fell supposed, the *ἀνάμνησις*, or commemoration in words of the death of Christ; or according to others, the customary prayers which St. Basil calls the *ἐκκλησιαστικὰ κηρύγματα*. *Ep. cexli*. The ark with Firmilian is the sacrament or sign of the church.

‡ *Tunc demum planè sanctificari, et esse filii Dei possunt, si sacramento utroque nascentur, cum scriptum sit: Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei.* Cyprian. *Epist. lxxii*.

§ Aliud est, ergo, aqua sacramenti: aliud, aqua quæ significat Spiritum Dei. Aqua sacramenti visibilis est: aqua Spiritus, invisibilis. Ista abluit corpus, et significat quod fit in anima: per illum Spiritum ipsa anima munitur. August. *Expos. in Epist. Jam. i. 4.*

brose, and other Latin writers, use the word. The connexion of the two terms, mystery and sacrament, may be observed in several passages. Tertullian says,\* “In the *mysteries* of the idolaters, Satan imitated the divine *sacraments*.” So Augustine, “In baptized infants, the *sacrament* of regeneration precedes, and, if they retain Christian piety, there follows also in the heart conversion, the *mystery* of which preceded in the body.”† So, on the other hand, the Latin *sacramentum* is translated into Greek *μυστήριον* by ecclesiastical and even by profane authors; as Herodian, when speaking of the military sacrament of the Romans, says, “And now preserving the military oath, which is the venerable mystery of the Roman sovereignty.”‡ Aided by this verbal association with the pagan mysteries, as it would seem, there soon arose in the church the doctrine of reserve, the *disciplina arcani*, the confining of evangelical truths to the initiated, and concealing from the eyes of the profane the simple rites of the Christian religion, as if they were of peculiar and awful sanctity. These rites became mystic, reserved only for the perfect, in whose initiation baptism was deemed the proper ablution, and the Eucharist was venerated as the ineffable mystery. From this association with the mysteries, we think, arose the restrictive discipline and severe rule of unbaptized catechumens, so unlike anything to be found in the apostolic age; hence the frequent and peremptory command to the uninitiated to depart, as from a revelation too solemn for them to witness, the minister of the sanctuary acting the part of the hierophant of the grove or the grotto, exclaiming almost in his words,

\* “A Diabolo scilicet—qui ipsas quoque res *sacramentorum* divinorum, in idolorum *mysteriis* temulatur.” De Præscrip. Hæret. cxi.

† “In baptizatis infantibus, præcedit regenerationis *sacramentum* et, si christianam tenuerint pietatem, sequitur etiam in corde conversio, cujus *mysterium* precessit in corpore.” August. de Baptism. cont. Donat. Lib. iv. c. 44.

‡ “Καὶ οὖν φυλάσσοντες τὸν στρατιωτικὸν ὄρκον, ὅς ἐστι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς σεμνὸν μυστήριον.” Herod. lib. 8.

“Procul, O procul, este profani;” hence the practice of the preacher to advert in ambiguous terms to a mystery, not to be explained to the unbaptized, adding—“The initiated understand it:”\* and hence the tumid phraseology of the philosophical fathers, as Clement of Alexandria, derived from the Eleusinian processions, or Bacchanalian orgies, of sacred mysteries, and awful initiations, and ecstatic visions, and torch-bearing leaders, and mystic dances of angels around the one true God, intended to impress with reverence and awe the minds of the catechumens and other listeners, who were never permitted to witness the communion, or even to look within the baptistery.† The answer to the momentous question, What must I do to be saved? required months and afterwards years for its explanation, while the inquirer was passing through the long course of discipline among the hearers, and kneelers, and competents, with all their various rites and forms, until he was permitted to know all the great, life-giving truths of the Gospel.

Somewhat opposed to this view, which appears to me so evidently deduced from the early ecclesiastical writers, and not, I think, with his usual care and accuracy, the Bishop of Lincoln, in his very able work on Tertullian, attributes the introduction of the word sacramentum to its military use, as the oath of the Roman soldier, and thinks that the word being used to signify the promise or vow in baptism, came to denote, by an easy transition, the rite itself, and afterwards extending its signification, it included every religious ceremony, and eventually expressed the whole Christian doctrine.‡ We have stated our reasons for preferring another origin and rise of the term; yet the sacrament by a very natural figure is often represented as

\* Οἱ τελούμενοι ἴσασιν.

† Before catechumens we do not speak plainly about mysteries, but we say many things in a covert manner, that the faithful who know may understand. Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. Lec. vi. 29.

‡ Kaye's Tertullian, p. 356.

the Christian's oath of fidelity. The favourite appellation of the early Christians was the soldiers of Christ; Christ was their commander, the world, the flesh, and the devil, were their enemies; Christian graces their armour, martyrdom their crown, the baptismal promise, or the eucharistic profession, their oath of allegiance.\*

Although the Romanists assert that there are *seven* sacraments, they adduce neither Scripture nor antiquity for that precise number. No ancient authority, Greek or Latin, makes the sacraments to be seven, nor assigns to their seven observances the exclusive power of conferring grace; which power, in the estimation of Catholics, and according to their own definitions, is essential to a sacrament. The number having been ascertained by the schoolmen, and having been precisely defined by the great master of sentences, Peter Lombard, (and Bellarmine† their great controversialist, himself assigns no higher antiquity to the perfect number of seven,) the Council of Trent devoted to the terrors of its anathema all who dared to dispute their computation.‡ Its decree was confirmed, although Bellarmine admits, as indeed is undeniable, that the ancients called many things sacraments, besides these seven.§ Thus the Council of Trent, unless its decrees are to be construed only in reference to the future, lays under its ban the whole Catholic church of the first four or five centuries, by whose traditions and authority it professes to be governed. So the bull of Pius IV. requires every priest on his ordination to profess

\* "Malunt exheredari a parentibus liberi, quam fidem Christianam rumpere, et salutaris militiæ sacramenta deponere." Arnobius, lib. ii. Yet Arnobius, like all the Latins, uses the word in the sense of a symbol, "Religio Christiana veritatis absconditæ sacramenta patefecit." Lib. i. c. 3.

† Bell. de Sacram. lib. ii. c. 25.

‡ "Si quis dixerit, sacramenta novæ legis esse plura vel pauciora quam septem, anathema sit." Syn. Trid. Sess. 7. Can. 1.

§ "Multa dicuntur a veteribus sacramenta præter ista septem." Bell. de Sacram. ii. 24.

that there are, truly and properly, seven sacraments.\* And what may seem unaccountable minuteness and precision, the church of Rome, not admitting her seven sacraments to be of equal importance, holds *in terrorem* a curse over all who mistake their comparative value.† The sacraments ordained by the council of Trent are, besides baptism and the eucharist, confirmation, penance, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction. In noticing these sacraments of the Church of Rome, we must keep in mind her own doctrine, that grace is conferred by the due performance of the rite itself, unless it be resisted by mortal sin.

*Confirmation* is the sacrament by which, according to the ancient churches who practised it, and according to the elder canonists of the Roman church itself, the bishop by the imposition of his hands upon the head of a baptized person, in virtue of his episcopal authority derived from the apostles, bestows additional and confirming grace to complete that which the priest had conferred in the act of baptism. The council of Trent, however, preferring the dialectics of the theologues to the precedents of the canonists, decided, under the sanction of the anathema ever at its command, that the *matter* or element of confirmation was *chrism*, and the *form* of it the words, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the chrism of salvation, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" thus, as some honest Catholics acknowledge, changing both the substance and the form of an ancient sacrament. Confirmation being one of the unreiterable sacraments, is said to confer an indelible character; but what that character is, Catholics, so far as I can find, do not very explicitly declare.

\* "Profiteor quoque septem esse propriè et verè sacramenta." Bulla Pii IV.

† "Si quis dixerit hæc septem Sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nulla ratione aliud sit alio dignius, anathema sit." Syn. Trid. Sess. 7. Can. 3.



Some of the fathers distinguished between the grace of baptism and that of confirmation, by saying, that in baptism, sins are remitted, and in confirmation, the Holy Ghost is bestowed. Hence, in the controversy about the validity of the baptism of heretics who could not confer the Holy Ghost, they held, on the one side, that the imposition of episcopal hands, being the proper mode of imparting the Holy Ghost, was sufficient in receiving such as had been baptized by heretics to the communion of the Catholic church. Their opponents, however, who observed the Eastern tradition, maintained that the Holy Ghost must be also conferred in baptism, as without his presence, there could not be the new birth, and that, consequently, heretical baptisms were invalid and useless.\* Of the difference between the grace conferred in baptism and that superadded in confirmation, Roman Catholic writers are not very clear nor very consistent; yet to deny that the grace of baptism is regeneration, and therefore sufficient to enable a man to enter the kingdom of heaven, would be to incur the anathema,—as it would be to deny that the grace of confirmation is necessary,—as it would be to assert that the grace of baptism and that of confirmation combined, will be sufficient for a dying man, without the grace of extreme unction, if it may be obtained,—and as it would be to maintain that the accumulated grace of all the seven sacraments would be sufficient for a sinner, without the more effectual purification of the flames of purgatory. To escape the anathemas of the council of

\* One sentence from the epistle of Firmilian to Cyprian will show the opinions of both sides. “Et quoniam Stephanus et qui illi consentiunt, contendunt dimissionem peccatorum et secundam nativitatem in hæreticorum baptismata posse procedere, apud quos etiam ipsi continentur Spiritum Sanctum non esse; considerent et intelligant spiritalem nativitatem sine Spiritu esse non posse; secundum quod et beatus apostolus Paulus eos qui ab Joanne baptizati fuerant, priusquam missus esset Spiritus Sanctus a Domino, baptizavit denuo spiritali baptismo, et sic eis manum imposuit, ut acciperent Spiritum Sanctum.” *Epist. Firm. ad S. Cypr. c. 6.*



Trent, which fly in all directions, and meet us at every turn, the only safe and easy method is to yield implicit faith to the close of the profession of Pius IV.: "Also all other things, by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of Trent, delivered, defined, and declared, I unhesitatingly receive and profess; and at the same time all things contrary, and all heresies whatsoever, condemned, and rejected, and anathematized by the church, I, in like manner, do condemn, reject, and anathematize."\* But then we must believe contradictions, some to Scripture, some to antiquity, some to the decisions of popes, some to the decrees of general councils, and some even to the canons of the holy synod itself.

The Church of England teaches that confirmation is not a sacrament; yet it would seem to be one, according to her own formularies and definition. Her catechism defines a sacrament to be "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given to us, ordained by Christ himself." In confirmation, the bishop prays in these words, "We make our humble supplication unto thee for these thy servants, upon whom (after the example of the holy apostles) we have now laid our hands, to certify them (by this sign) of thy favour and gracious goodness towards them." In this prayer it is implied, that the imposition of episcopal hands is not only a *sign*, but a *certificate* of God's favour and gracious goodness. But that which is a sign and certificate of God's gracious goodness, a visible sign of spiritual grace, ordained by Christ, is a sacrament according to the catechism. On the contrary, in the twenty-fifth Article, it is said, "Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, confirmation,

\* Cætera item omnia a Sacris Canonibus et Œcumenicis Conciliis ac præcipuè a Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodo tradita, definita et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hereses quascunque ab Ecclesia damnatas et rejectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, respuo et anathematizo.

penance, orders, matrimony and extreme unction, are not to be counted for sacraments of the gospel, being such as have grown, partly of the corrupt following of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed by the Scriptures, but yet have not like nature of sacraments with baptism and the Lord's supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony, ordained of God." The evangelical clergy must, I fear, solicit the assistance of the ingenious author of the Tract No. 90, to reconcile the office of confirmation, which declares that the act of the bishop "certifies by *this sign* God's favour and gracious goodness," and the Article of religion which asserts that confirmation "has *no* visible *sign* or ceremony ordained of God." To reconcile the two, it must be said that confirmation is a sign of grace not ordained of God.

But if the ceremony be not ordained of God, where may its origin be sought? The Article most clearly informs us. Not being a state of life like orders or matrimony, but an act of the bishop, it must, according to the Article, have grown of the corrupt following of the apostles, and with the Article we cordially agree. Confirmation has "grown of the corrupt following of the apostles," and we can trace its growth. As the apostles of our Lord baptized in his name, for "he baptized not, but his disciples," he seems by the imposition of hands to have blessed the baptized, and so to have recognised and accredited the acts of his apostles. However that may have been, the apostles Peter and John laid their hands upon such as Philip baptized, and conferred upon them the visible and extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost. So Paul at Ephesus, on finding that twelve men had not received the Holy Ghost, conferred it upon them by the imposition of his hands. It would seem from passages in the Corinthians and Galatians, that the apostles did not usually baptize, although they alone imparted the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit. To confer these powers they often travelled

a considerable distance. St. Paul earnestly desired to visit the Romans, that he might impart to them some spiritual gift. If this imposition of hands by the apostles were confirmation, then let it be observed that *the bishops of that age could not confirm*. If the bishops were competent, why should the apostle so earnestly desire to confer the extraordinary grace upon the believers in Rome? To reply, that bishops are the successors of the apostles, is to deny that they were contemporary with the apostles; for if apostles and bishops coexisted as two distinct offices in the primitive church, the modern bishops must surely be the successors of the ancient bishops, and not of the apostles holding another office; or, if they have succeeded to the apostolic, and not to the episcopal office, then ought they to be called apostles, and not bishops. If the apostolic bishops, the holy men on whom the apostles laid their hands, could not confirm, it seems reasonable to inquire with all respect and humility, how modern bishops became invested with the apostolic authority, to which their predecessors of the apostolic age did not pretend?

The rise of confirmation may, however, be easily traced. At first the imposition of hands, as the sign of conferring the Holy Ghost, was a part or accompaniment of the baptismal service, or as Hooker, in accordance with the language of antiquity, calls it, "*a sacramental complement*." The bishops at a very early period, claimed the right of administering baptism, or of approving the persons to whom it was to be administered. "It is not lawful," says Ignatius, "without the bishop to baptize, or keep the feast of charity."\* "The right of giving baptism hath the chief priest," that is the bishop, says Tertullian.† But as churches increased, and especially as bishoprics became diocesan, it was not convenient, or

\* Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.  
S. Ign. Epist. ad Smyrn. cap. 8.

† Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos. De Bapt. c. 17.

even possible, for the bishops to be present at all baptisms. They, therefore, reserved to themselves the confirmation of the baptism and, it would seem also, its most precious blessing, the gift of the Holy Ghost. "It is the custom," says Jerome, "for the bishop to go abroad and, imposing his hands, pray for the Holy Ghost upon those whom presbyters and deacons at a distance have already baptized in lesser cities."\* Decrees of councils direct, that persons baptized when travelling or in extreme sickness should, on their return or recovery, be brought to the bishop, who was to confirm the baptism by the imposition of hands.† The imposition of the apostles' hands upon the converts of Philip, was cited as the authority for the service,‡ and so, "confirmation growing," as the Article of the Church of England beautifully and accurately describes it, "of the corrupt following of the apostles," became a separate service, and eventually another sacrament, or visible sign of the grace of the Holy Spirit imparted. §

\* Jer. advers. Lucif. cap. 4. "The cause of severing confirmation from baptism (for most commonly they went together) was sometimes in the minister, who, being of inferior degree, might baptize, but not confirm." (Hooker, Eccl. Polity, book v. § 66.) The other cause, according to Hooker, arose out of heretical baptisms, which were afterwards confirmed by the ministers of the catholic church. Jerome observes, that the cause of this observance is not any absolute impossibility of receiving the Holy Ghost by the sacrament of baptism, unless a bishop add after it the imposition of hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitness to honour prelacy with such pre-eminences, because the safety of the church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief superiors to whom, if some eminent offices of power above others should not be given, there would be in the church as many schisms as priests.

† Conc. Elib. Can. xxx.

‡ Cyprian Epist. 73.

§ It is remarkable, that priests and deacons, and even laymen and women, were deemed competent to administer the greater sacrament of baptism, but only bishops could bestow the lesser grace of confirmation. A most important part of this sacrament was the anointing, the sealing of the forehead with the sacred chrism, which could only be consecrated by a bishop, although at various times presumptuous and profane presbyters have attempted it, so that many decrees of councils have been necessary to prevent the use of the

The next sacrament is *penance*, of which the name is a corruption of the *penitentia* of the Vulgate, where it undoubtedly means repentance. But, how should repentance be a sign or sacrament of grace? The Catholics distinguish between the internal virtue or contrition, and the external sign or penance. The acts of penance, especially the auricular confession, were thus made sacramental; but as it seemed difficult to say how grace could be conferred without an act of the priest, some placed the sacrament in the absolution of the penitent. Thomas Aquinas, however, had the singular merit of reconciling the difference by discovering, through his extraordinary penetration and sagacity, that the confession or contrition of the penitent is the material, and the absolution of the priest the form of the sacrament; that is, the confession becomes a sacrament, when the priest pronounces the absolution. The *grace conferred in penance*, is the absolution of sins committed after baptism. This doctrine, although it had been opposed by high authorities in the schools, received the solemn sanction of the council of Trent, and is since that time, whatever it was before, most surely believed by all Romanists to be true, catholic, and apostolic. This sacrament appears without the name, but with something worse, in the order for the visitation of the sick, in the offices of the English church. "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the priest shall absolve him, (if he humbly and heartily desire it,) after this sort: Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him,

counterfeit. On what authority this part of confirmation is omitted in the service of the English church I know not, unless it be the act of the first of Elizabeth, or the fourteenth of Charles II. The English parliament has touched the carved work of the ancient sanctuary with a rough hand. The consecrated oil was so sacred that, according to St. Basil, no unbaptized person might be permitted to look upon it.



of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences. And by his authority, committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." This act of the priest is certainly an outward and visible sign, and the absolution of sin is certainly an inward and spiritual grace; and therefore, in contradiction to the Article, but in accordance with the Catechism, as confirmation was the third, we are warranted in calling absolution or penance, the fourth sacrament of the Church of England. This sacrament of penance must be carefully distinguished from the discipline of the penitents in the ancient church. The penitents of the early ages were excommunicated or suspended persons, who were preparing for their restoration. Their confession was not auricular, but after acts of humiliation in the porch made publicly in the church, into the midst of which they were conducted by the bishop; they were sometimes continued in the penitential classes for years, and as their confession was public, so was their absolution, which was originally and properly the removal of the censure of the church and readmission to its communion, of which the sacramental sign was the imposition of hands. The penitential canons remain to contradict the council of Trent. Can there be found, in the first three or four centuries, a single instance of absolution pronounced upon any person who had not been previously excommunicated or suspended from the eucharist? "Our censure," says Tertullian, "cometh with much authority, as of men assured that they are under the eye of God; and it is a grave premonition of the coming judgment, if any shall have so offended as to be put out of the participation of prayer, of the solemn meeting, and of all holy fellowship."\*

*Orders* in the Article of the Church of England seems to be regarded, not as a sacrament, but as a state of life. This, however, and the same remark will apply to matri-

\* Apol. i. 39. See Appendix A.



mony, is not a fair representation of the doctrine of the Church of Rome. By the sacrament of orders is meant ordination, not so much the state of the priest as the act of conferring the gift or grace of the priesthood. By the imposition of episcopal hands, according to the ancient and the Anglican church, or by the delivery of the sacred vessels, as the chalice of wine and paten of bread, according to the council of Florence, (that of Trent does not define the matter of this sacrament,) the power is communicated of discharging all the functions of the sacerdotal office. A man so ordained can regenerate in baptism, can transubstantiate the bread and wine of the eucharist, can absolve the penitent, and holding the key of St. Peter, can open and no man shutteth, and shut and no man openeth the gate of everlasting life.

Popish authorities agree that in ordination some indelible character is communicated; but subtle have been their disputes respecting its nature. *Something* is imparted to constitute the priest; but what that something is, the quiddity of the character, they cannot or they will not tell us. It is not piety; for it may be imparted to very wicked men, as Catholics assert, and some Protestants do not deny. Being unreiterable it adheres with a tenacity not to be dissolved by the fiercest flames of purgatory, and ever will adhere even to condemned priests in hell. Amidst the endless disputes of the schoolmen and the doctors of the church, as to the what and the whereabouts, the substance and the locality of the indelible character of the priesthood, as Dr. Campbell shrewdly observes, "The whole of what they agreed in amounts to this, that in the unreiterable sacraments, as they call them, something, they know not what, is imprinted they know not how, on something in the soul of the recipient, they know not where, which never can be deleted."\*

\* As the Romish doctrine is, that the grace of a sacrament is not conferred without the will of the priest, nor upon a person in mortal sin; and, as every

Let us now hear the Church of England. Is there not in her office of ordination both an outward and visible sign and an inward and spiritual grace? If there be, is not ordination a sacrament according to her own definition? It will surely not be said that the visible sign is not ordained of Christ, but merely a matter of human arrangement, and therefore not sacramental. Episcopalians plead apostolic authority for their ordinations; and if they did not, it is too much to assume that they can confer the Holy Ghost without the authority of Christ. Solemn are the words of the bishop, as he lays his hands upon the candidate, and says, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained." If these words be true, if the Holy Ghost be conferred by the imposition of episcopal hands, then is ordination not only a sacrament, but as the council of Trent makes a distinction, a great sacrament; or rather, as it gives validity to all the others, the greatest of the sacraments. Allow me, however, to ask, with the earnestness and solemnity which the subject requires, the many evangelical ministers who adorn the communion of the Church of England, if they really believe that the Holy Ghost and the power of absolution are conferred by the act of episcopal ordination? Allow me to entreat them to consider the most logical conclusion, but most pernicious doctrine, that evil men, "if lawfully consecrated," do minister at her altars by "Christ's commission and authority."

*Matrimony.* Although Romish writers often express them-

person is in mortal sin who does not concur in all the anathemas upon heretics, in ordination a bishop may be so wicked, or a priest so charitable, as to frustrate the grace. On that no improbable supposition, all the sacraments administered by such a priest, except baptism, are unavailing. What confidence is there in such a priesthood? Does not this fact endanger the succession?

selves obscurely, yet there can be no doubt that by this sacrament is meant not so much the state of matrimony as the act of solemnizing it, not so much the union of the parties as the blessing of the priest upon that union. It may appear to a superficial observer extraordinary, that the church which prohibits the marriage of her clergy, ascribes peculiar sanctity to perpetual virginity, and allows matrimony only as an indulgence to the infirmities of human nature, should regard as a sacrament the act by which persons are sanctioned in their descent from the purer state to one less honourable in the church and less acceptable to God. Yet, upon this point, the Church of Rome is very particular, and the council of Trent pronounces the anathema upon all who deny that marriage is one of the sacraments.\* The inconsistency, however, may be explained by considering the nature of the grace supposed to be conferred in the act of solemnizing marriage. The marriage state *itself*, *per se*, according to the Romish doctrine, is polluted, although permitted to prevent greater evils. By the sacrament of marriage the grace conferred so purifies the carnal state that the sin is not imputed; whereas the parties, without this grace, would be living together in mortal sin. At a very early period, certainly in the second century, the bishops and priests claimed the right of approving, ratifying, and blessing the marriages of Christians. Ignatius, in his epistle to Polycarp, if indeed that blessed martyr wrote the passages which are so remarkable for their fulsome glorification of bishops, and not very appropriate to an humble member of that order, exactly expresses the Catholic doctrine of a later age. "If any man can abide in chastity, let him abide without boasting; if he boast, he is ruined. It becomes both men and women on their marriage to form their union with the con-

\* "Si quis dixerit matrimonium non esse verè ac propriè unum ex septem legis Evangelicæ Sacramentis, a Christo Domino institutum, neque gratiam conferre, anathema sit." Concil. Trident. Sess. 24. Can. 1.

sent of the bishop, that so their marriage may be according to God, and not according to concupiscence.”\* Tertullian, in the warmth of his ardent soul, is at a loss for words to celebrate the “bliss of that marriage which the church binds, and the oblation confirms, and the benediction seals, and the angels report, and the Father ratifies.”† Clement of Alexandria and later writers represent the *presbyter* as blessing the marriage,‡ which, according to the epistle of Ignatius, is the prerogative of the *bishop*.

The assertion of some of the English clergy, that marriage without a religious ceremony is an unauthorised and sinful cohabitation, evidently implies the popish notion of a sacrament, in imparting by their benediction the grace of purifying the union of the parties from the sin which would otherwise attach to it. The council of Trent says that Christ instituted marriage; but how or where we are not informed. Was the Jewish marriage at Cana a sacrament? or if it was not, did our Lord by his presence sanction a sinful cohabitation? St. Paul, speaking of married persons where only one of the parties being Christian the sacrament of marriage, even if at that time there was any Christian ceremony, could not have been observed, says, “the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband, and the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife.” The marriage was pure, and the parties to each other were sanctified, and the children were holy, without any sacrament or blessing of a Christian priest. Besides, were all the husbands and wives of the apostolic converts re-married according to the sacrament, or were they all, in continuing to live together, living in mortal sin? The reply of Catholic casuists is, that the marriage of heathens becomes sacramental on the parties becoming Christians.

In these remarks I have probably constructed the most respectable theory which can be devised to reconcile con-

\* Epist. ad Poly. c. v.

† Ad Ux. II. c. viii.

‡ Pædag. iii. 11.

flicting statements of Catholic authorities on the sacrament of marriage. I am aware that they often speak of the *state of marriage* as a sacrament; but as according to their doctrine every sacrament causes grace, the marriage service performed by the priest, and not the marriage state, causing the grace, must be regarded as the sacrament. There is also considerable difference of opinion as to the grace conferred. I have stated what appears to me the most reasonable and consistent view of the Catholic doctrine. Some Romanists assert, that the grace conferred is the mutual love of the husband and wife; and Bellarmine says,\* “It causes such a love between a man and his wife, as there is between Christ and his church;” but although sustained by so high an authority, I do not like to attribute such gross and palpable absurdities even to Romanists. On the subject of marriage, the canonists, and as Stillingfleet<sup>1</sup> has shown, the schoolmen, even the greatest of them, Thomas Aquinas and Scotus, were not orthodox according to the decrees of the council of Trent.

*Extreme Unction* is the last of the Romish sacraments, and frequently called the sacrament of the dying. The patient in his last moments, when life is utterly hopeless, is anointed with oil, by which act grace is said to be conferred in order to destroy the last relics of corruption, and to defend him amidst the perils of “the valley of the shadow of death.” That there is no scriptural authority for this ceremony, must be acknowledged by all who can read the Bible. To cite the words of St. James, “Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up,” is to cite a passage totally irrelevant. That anointing was intended for the recovery of the patient, whereas the Romish unc-

\* De Sacram. lib. i. c. 5.



tion is administered only when recovery is hopeless. That was medicinal and salutary for the body; this is beneficial only to the departing spirit. After that anointing the Lord raised up the sick; after extreme unction the patient should taste no more food, but calmly await inevitable dissolution. According to the Rabbins,\* it was usual with the Jews to anoint the sick with oil; and it would, therefore, appear, that the apostles of our Lord and the elders of the church followed the ordinary medical practice; but instead of the charms and incantations which the Jews were wont to repeat, the Christian elders poured forth their prayers to God for the recovery of the patient.† So in the early ecclesiastical records we read of the anointing of sick persons, but evidently with a view to their recovery by medicinal or by miraculous power; as, according to Tertullian, a Christian, named Proculus, healed the emperor Severus by anointing him with oil.‡ Although anointings on various occasions were frequent among the early Christians, as in baptism and confirmation, yet of extreme unction, a sacrament for the dying, the first ages of the church knew nothing whatever. The terms applied to the eucharist, as the last and most necessary viaticum,§ together with the fact that it was given in the last moments without any anointing, would show that extreme unction was not the sacrament of the dying.¶ Here, also, the canonists were at variance with the theologians, as they maintained that unction was not a sacrament, and generally held that it was to be administered on various occasions, and not to the dying. The council of Trent, having pronounced with its accustomed

\* See Lightfoot's *Exercit.* on Matt. vi. 17.

† Commentators as late as Theophylact and Œcumenius understand the apostle James to refer to the medical anointing mentioned in Mark vi. 13: "And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them."

‡ *Ad Scapulam*, cap. iv.

§ See Appendix B.

Eusebius *Hist. Ecc.* l. vi. c. 44.



solemnity its anathema upon all who maintained such opinions, settled the controversy. Such were the anathemas of the Œcumenical Sacrosanct Council upon the subject of the seven sacraments, that as they rolled through the long aisles of the magnificent cathedral, from the unanimous concurrence of the voices of legates and cardinals, bishops and doctors, divines and lawyers, they were enough to make the bones of their own canonists to start in their tombs, the spirits of doctors, seraphical, angelical, and irrefragable, to turn pale with terror, and the books of decretals and digests to feel the brand of heresy upon every folio of their venerable parchments.

From what has been said it appears that of the seven sacraments of the Romanists, the English church, although restricting the name to two of them, virtually retains five, not regarding matrimony as a sacrament, and repudiating extreme unction. According to her own formularies she is in possession of five symbols, by which grace is not only exhibited but communicated,—the grace of regeneration in baptism, the grace of the Holy Ghost in confirmation, the grace of communion with Christ in the eucharist, the grace of absolution in penance, the grace of administering God's sacraments in ordination; and if the grace of purifying the marriage union is imparted by the service of matrimony, as some clergymen assert, on their principles we must add the sacrament of marriage to the outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace, belonging to the Church of England. By only one sacrament, or at worst two, is Canterbury inferior to Rome.

I need scarcely mention what a certain class of divines call the sacrament of unity, which, it is affirmed, belonged to the Catholic church before its divisions in its oneness of creed around its centre of unity, but which has been lost in the dissension of the Latin and Greek churches, and in the great schism of the sixteenth century, produc-

ing, on the one hand, the Tridentine doctrine, on the other, the Reformation. This sacrament, allowing the impropriety of the name to pass without remark, is, we believe, a pure fiction; but fiction as it is, we cannot refrain from expressing our surprise that Tractarian writers should acknowledge it to have vanished, as in so doing they admit the loss of the infallible testimony of the universal church, that is, of the infallible guidance of the Holy Spirit, in contradiction to the promise of God, as they interpret it, that the Holy Spirit should ever abide with the church. When they now exclaim, *ex cathedra*, "hear the church," they call up learning and royalty to listen to a church, which by their own confession has lost its sacrament of unity, and therefore is as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, and must remain so, until by union it recovers its original catholic and infallible authority. The unity of doctrine pervading the Catholic church is supposed to have been, before the occurrence of the great schism, sacramentally exhibited by a visible and acknowledged head, as the centre of all bishops, presbyters, and deacons. On the top-stone of that temple whose foundation is Christ and the apostles was raised the chair of St. Peter, and his successors for the time being holding the keys, emblem of the unity; but whether that loftiest pinnacle of the universal church, enclosing Christendom within its walls, rose at Rome or at Constantinople, at Jerusalem or at Antioch, Tractarians have not ventured to speak with confidence. Nor is the inquiry now of much importance, as they admit the chair has fallen by reason of the rending of the temple from the top to the bottom.

But if this infallible guidance has been lost in the disputes of the Reformation, why might it not have been lost in the fierce contentions of the ancient church on the keeping of Easter, the baptism of heretics, the homoöusion confession, the iconoclastic feuds, and I know

not how many other disputes, which inflamed the Christian community and divided churches and bishops who, we are told, possessed in common, though not individually, the teaching of the Holy Spirit? Yet amidst so much contention the universal church, according to the Tractarians, did not lose her sacramental unity until the great schism of the Latins and Greeks, or the greater of the Romanists and the reformed. Of what value to us would be the authority of Scripture, if it could be shown that the apostles disagreed upon various important subjects? Of what authority is tradition, if the traditors while living were engaged in angry and interminable disputes, arising out of their common faith? Roman Catholics maintain with more consistency that uniformity still exists, the ever-living and glorious truth of their church, flowing in an undivided and perennial stream, clear as crystal, around its immediate centre of unity, the chair of St. Peter, placed on a rock and not on a ruin, and abundantly supplying with its pure and incorruptible water of life the one peaceful, harmonious, undivided catholic church of God, having one faith, one Lord, one baptism, of which all schismatics and heretics are unhappily bereaved.

Nor have I noticed the sacrament of the catechumens, as it was sometimes called by the ancients. This, several Romanists suppose to have been a part of the bread from the oblations of the faithful, distributed at the feast of the resurrection among the catechumens. It seems, however, to be established by Bingham in his *Antiquities*, that this sacrament was the small quantity of salt given to the catechumens as the emblem of purity and incorruption, the only sacrament which was allowed to them, even at the celebration of the great festival of Easter.\*

\* Concil. Carthag. III. Can. 5. Placuit ut per solemnissimos Paschales dies, Sacramentum Catechumenis non detur, nisi solitum sal; quia si Fideles per illos dies sacramenta non mutant, non catechumenis oportet mutari.

Besides these several observances, which by different persons have been called sacraments, there is a service of a sacramental character observed at the present time by many of our Christian brethren, on which a few remarks may be expected. I mean the agapæ or love-feasts of the Moravians, the Wesleyan Methodists, and some other religious communities.

That there are traces of the agapæ in the apostolic age we readily admit, and if they were not symbolic observances, we are bound to inquire what purposes they were intended to accomplish. We believe that they were what they were called, really and properly, not emblematically, feasts of charity, feasts for the relief and comfort of the poor, the travellers, and the itinerant preachers of the Gospel. The rich, as we believe, provided on the Lord's day, not luxurious entertainments, but plentiful and agreeable refreshments; not certainly bread and water as in modern times, when love seems growing parsimonious, but a friendly and hospitable table at which all were welcome, the brother of low degree rejoicing in that he was exalted, and the rich in that he was made low. The object seems to have been to provide the poor at the weekly feast of the resurrection with a more cheerful meal than their ordinary circumstances would allow, and to afford to members of the church coming to worship from a distance, and strangers or messengers from other churches sojourning in the place, the comfort of hospitable and friendly entertainment. The feasts were not emblems but acts, not professions but proofs of charity. They were, indeed, liable to abuse, on the one hand, among those of a sensual disposition by affording opportunities of intemperate indulgence; on the other, under the influence of an ascetic temperament in becoming mere formalities, the cold shadow of a feast without its social enjoyment. So abused they have given place to exercises of charity more appropriate to the altered circumstances of succeed-

ing ages. Let us, however, notice the evidence, which if not absolutely conclusive, is highly favourable to this opinion.

In reading the gospels, we cannot fail to observe how frequently the Jews in the time of our Lord invited their friends and neighbours to large and liberal entertainments, for the most part, if not always, on the evening which closed the sabbath. How many of the parables and illustrations of our Lord are derived from the guest-chamber! The Saviour, instead of utterly condemning these festivals, which he occasionally sanctioned by his presence, commanded his followers to make them feasts of charity, entertainments for the poor and afflicted, offices of mercy, not occasions of luxury and dissipation. On the sabbath, at an entertainment of one of the chief Pharisees which must have been numerously attended, for he marked how those who were bidden chose out the chief rooms, Jesus said to him that bade him, "When thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, and the blind." This being on the evening of the sabbath, our Lord evidently recommended that instead of the costly and luxurious festivals, which ill became the sacred association of so holy a day, his disciples should provide feasts of charity and friendship for the poor, by which, in the liberal and generous spirit of their religion, they might appropriately close the solemnities of the sabbath, as the religious feasts of the Jews were ordered to be celebrated, with the generous intention of diffusing cheerfulness in their families and among the indigent. "And thou shalt rejoice in thy feast, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite, and the stranger that is within thy gates." Such was the institute of Moses; and shall a Christian church celebrate the propitious and glorious festival of the resurrection, while her poor are distressed with the cravings of hunger, and their sorrow-



ful thoughts and anxious looks ill accord with the loud and joyful hallelujahs of the great triumphant commemoration in which the rich and the poor meet together, for the Lord is maker of them all?

The digression would be too wide from our immediate subject, were I to notice the various circumstantialia and forms, which were transferred from the service of the synagogue to the offices of the primitive church. Having in a note adverted to this subject,\* I must here be content with observing that the apostles would naturally, if not of necessity, retain the modes of worship to which the people had been accustomed, unless those modes were changed by the express authority of the Holy Ghost. It is well known that houses of hospitality, places of sabbath entertainment for the poor and for strangers attending their worship, were, at least frequently, if not usually, attached to the synagogues. According to Maimonides,† “the hallowing of the sabbath” (he is speaking of the ceremony of announcing the sabbath) “may not be used, but only in the place where they eat. Why then do they use the hallowing word in the synagogue? because of travellers that do eat and drink there.” The gloss upon this passage is, “they did not eat in their synagogues at all, but in a house near the synagogue; and there they sat to hear the hallowing of the sabbath.” It appears, then, that these houses were hallowed every sabbath, because they were opened on that day for the hospitable entertainment of strangers. When Paul visited Corinth, he reasoned in the synagogue every sabbath, “and entered into a certain man’s house, named Justus, one that worshipped God,” (was a proselyte to Judaism.) *whose house joined hard to the synagogue.*”‡ Paul, a stranger in Corinth, which city he had never before visited, went, before a single convert was made, to the house attached to the synagogue, according to the Jewish autho-

\* See Appendix C.

† Lightfoot’s Works, by Pitman, vol. iii. p. 274.

‡ Acts xviii. 7.



rities, the proper place for the hospitable reception of strangers. The house of Justus may denote the house of the synagogue kept by that proselyte, whose duty in that situation would have been to entertain strangers.

But was this hospitable provision to be found in the church of Christ, as well as in the synagogue of the Jews? Did Christian societies, in this graceful and religious manner, show that in their separation from the synagogue they were not forgetful to entertain strangers? Was there a feast, a cheerful though temperate meal, provided on the Lord's day, for strangers and the poor, in the spirit of our Lord's commendation of a sabbath entertainment? And was this meal the Agapé of the primitive church? We think it was.

"Gaius mine host, and of the whole church, saluteth you."\* These words seem to imply an entertainment, not of the members separately, but of the church collectively; and to intimate that Gaius had supplied the entertainment at his own expense. It is not necessary to suppose he did so regularly, as often as the church kept the feast, but he did so with sufficient frequency to obtain the name of the host of the whole church. Lightfoot† thinks he was an officer of the church, whose duty it was to provide the public entertainment from the common fund; but the expression seems more naturally to refer to an act of personal liberality. With this description of Gaius, the third epistle of John coincides in so remarkable a manner, that we conclude the Gaius to whom it was addressed was the same person. "Beloved," says the apostle, "thou doest faithfully, whatsoever thou doest to the brethren, and to strangers; which have borne witness of thy charity," thy ἀγάπη. "before the church: whom if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly sort, thou shalt do well." These strangers were evidently travelling preachers, dependent for support upon the

\* Romans xvi. 23.

+ Works, iii. 275.

bounty of the opulent, "because that for his name's sake they went forth, taking nothing of the Gentiles." Can we then doubt that the charity, the agapé of Gaius, was the feast of charity, the hospitable entertainment of the brethren, and of Christian sojourners? St. Jude, in express terms, refers to the feasts of charity, in which false teachers had insinuated themselves and feasted intemperately. "These are spots in your feasts of charity, when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear"—without moderation.\* It is here manifest that the feast of charity was a liberal entertainment, which these itinerant preachers, wandering stars, abused to intemperance. Had they been services of religion, rather than festivals of charity, they could not have been perverted to the unrestrained gratification of the appetite. Œcumenius, commenting on this passage, says, "There were still at that time tables in the churches, as Paul says in the Epistle to the Corinthians, which they called 'agapæ.'" In the parallel passage in the Second Epistle of Peter, we read, "Spots they are and blemishes, sporting themselves (rather, living luxuriously, *ἐντροφῶντες*) in their own deceivings, while they feast with you."† Here is evidently the reference to the same intemperate and luxurious indulgence of which these false teachers were guilty at the feasts of the church, but one can hardly help suspecting that instead of *ἀπάταις*, their deceivings, the word must originally have been *ἀγάπαις*, by the change of a single stroke, luxuriously feeding at your love-feasts, while they feast with you.‡ And when we find that this is actually the reading of the Vatican MS., of both the Syrian versions, of the Arabic, the Vulgate, of the Alexandrian MS., by a correction, and some other autho-

\* Jude 12.

+ 2 Peter ii. 13.

‡ The difference in the uncial manuscripts is only in the transposition of a single stroke, 'ΑΠΑΤΑΙΣ for 'ΑΓΑΠΑΙΣ.

rities ; \* we can have little doubt of its being the genuine text. Probably, the meaning of the apostle, when speaking of a woman "well reported of for good works," to be received among the widows, he says, "if she have hospitably entertained strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet," may be best explained by a reference to these feasts; if she have been attentive and generous in providing for strangers and the saints at the feasts of charity; for according to the customs of the East, in no other way could a woman so act towards strangers without bringing a scandal upon her character.

Having gained from Scripture so much information respecting the agapæ, let us turn to the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, on which I must speak with some hesitation. The apostle evidently refers to improper practices which had arisen from some meal or festival, and which were confined to only a part of the Corinthian church. "One is hungry, and another has drunk too much." Was this an abuse of the Lord's supper itself? or was it an abuse of the feast of charity, celebrated in Corinth immediately before the Lord's supper? Some contend that it was an abuse of the Lord's supper. They suppose, that many of the Corinthians converted the Lord's supper into a luxurious entertainment, for which the rich brought their own provision, after the manner of the common feasts of the Greeks, and refused to impart to their poor brethren. Hence says the apostle to those who fared sumptuously, "Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and put to shame those who have nothing?" Lightfoot and others suppose, that the Jewish converts retained a strong prejudice in favour of a paschal feast as part of the Lord's supper, and that the Jewish

\* A \* \* (correctio librarii ipsius) B. Syr. Arr. (Æth.) Syr. p. in m. Vulg. Ephr. Auct. de sing. cler. Griesbach's note.

party drank cups of wine, as they had been accustomed to do at the passover; but surely the Jews could have no prejudice in favour of a paschal service at any other time than on the fourteenth day of the first month. A weekly passover, a paschal feast without the paschal lamb, would have been rather in direct opposition to their prejudices than in accordance with them. As well might it be supposed that Romanists, on becoming Protestants, would be so prejudiced in favour of the ostentatious rites of their church in the celebration of Easter, as to observe them every Sunday in the year. The ancient commentators, on the contrary, as Chrysostom,\* and Theophylact,† think that the disorders specified arose out of the feast of charity, immediately following the eucharist. The abuse, however, seems to have preceded the Lord's supper,—“When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper, for in eating every one taketh before of his own supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken.” It appears to me that the feast of charity preceded the Lord's supper in the Corinthian church, to which Chrysostom might not have adverted, as in his time the eucharist was celebrated early in the morning. The agapé, however, had lost its appropriate character in their assembly, and had become an occasion of displaying the profusion of the wealthier members, who admitted only their own friends to participate in their sumptuous entertainment; hence while they feasted, others, and especially the poor, were hungry. On coming together to partake of the Lord's supper, they were so unfitted by their conduct at the preceding feast as to eat

\* Τότε ὅτε ταῦτα ἔγραψεν ὁ ἀπόστολος—τῆς συνάξεως ἀπαρτισθείσης μετα τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν, ἐπὶ κοινὴν πάντες ἦσαν ἐνωχίαν, τῶν μὲν πλουτούντων φερόντων τὰ ἐδέσματα, τῶν δὲ μενομένων καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καλουμένων, καὶ κοινὴ παντῶν ἐσιωμένων. Ἄλλ' ὕστερον καὶ τοῦτο διεφθάρη τὸ ἔθνος.—In 1 Cor. Homil. xxvii. initio.

† Ἐν Κορινθίῳ κατὰ τίνας ρητάς ἡμέρας, ἑορτίους ἰσῶς, κοινὴ εὐώχουντο μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τῶν μυστηρίων, κ.τ.λ.—In 1 Cor. xi. 17.

and drink unworthily, and the apostle would not allow the service to be regarded as the Lord's supper; "When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper."\*

The agapæ were for a considerable time retained in the Christian church. In the opinion of Ignatius, they ought not to be celebrated without the authority of the bishop. "It is not lawful," he says, "without the bishop either to baptize or to observe the agape."† Tertullian, in his Apology, says, "Our supper, by its name, declares its nature. It is called agapè, the Greek word for love:—there we refresh the poor.—We do not sit down until prayer is presented to God. As much is eaten as is sufficient to satisfy hunger, as much is drunk as is consistent with temperance."‡ Jerome says, that "some proud women make proclamation when they invite people to a love-feast."§ Augustine says, "Our love-feasts feed the poor."||

\* This may be illustrated by a very similar abuse described by Socrates, as existing among some of the Egyptian Christians, who were accustomed to observe the Lord's supper after a sumptuous feast, in the evening of the sabbath. "After they have feasted, and are loaded with all sorts of meats, in the evening offering the oblation they partake of the mysteries." *Αἱ γύπτιοι δὲ γείτονες ὄντες Ἀλεξάνδρων, καὶ οἱ τὴν Θεβαΐδα οἰκοῦντες, ἐν σαββάτῳ μὲν ποιοῦνται συνάξεις· οὐχ ὡς ἔθνος δὲ χριστιάνοις τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσι· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐωχῆσθαι, καὶ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθῆναι περὶ ἑσπέραν προσφέροντες, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσιν.*—Hist. Eccles. lib. v. cap. 22. This passage appears to me to cast more light on the state of the Corinthian church than anything I have met with in Christian antiquity.

† Οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν. Some have thought that we are here to understand the Lord's supper; but Ignatius had just before stated, that the eucharist, to be valid, must be under the presidency of the bishop, or of one to whom he had entrusted it. The interpolator, however, seems to have understood the passage to refer also to the Lord's supper, as he expands the phrase thus: οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν.

‡ Cœna nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id quod dilectio penes Græcos est:..inopes quoque refrigerio isto juvamus... Non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad Deum prægustetur. Editur quantum esurientes capiunt: bibitur quantum pudicis est utile. Apol. c. 39.

§ Cum ad agapen vocaverint, præco conducitur. Ad Eustor. Ep. 22.

|| Agapæ enim nostræ pauperes pascunt. Contr. Faust. Man. xx. 20.



The Constitutions direct, "if any invite elder women to a love-feast, let them send most frequently to such as the deacons know to be in distress."\* Pliny, in his celebrated letter, mentions this feast as observed on the stated day, (undoubtedly the Lord's day,) on which they had bound themselves by the sacrament before daylight; and as a meal, "promiscuous indeed, yet harmless."† In the councils of the fourth century, these feasts were forbidden to be observed in the churches; and being sadly abused, they eventually declined, and were altogether abandoned.‡

I may be expected to notice the salutation by the holy kiss, as it is called by St. Paul, or the kiss of charity, as it is called by St. Peter—enjoined by both those apostles upon the churches—observed in the age of Justin Martyr,§ when the baptized were brought to the Lord's supper—practised in Africa in the time of Cyprian||—noticed by many subsequent writers—directed in the Constitutions to be regarded,¶ "Let a deacon say to all, Salute one another with a holy kiss,"—retained for several centuries, but subsequently laid aside on account of its incongruity with prevalent feelings, as it is now exchanged in dissenting churches for an unexceptionable salutation of the

\* Τοῖς εἰς ἀγάπην ἡτοι δοχὴν, ὡς ὁ κύριος ὠνόμασε, προαιρουμένοις καλεῖν πρεσβύτερας, ἣν ἐπίστανται οἱ διάκονοι θλιβομένην, αὐτῇ πλείστακις πεμπέτωσαν.—Lib. ii. c. 28. This extract shows that the agapæ were supposed to correspond, as we have intimated, with the feast which our Lord commanded.

+ "Ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium." I do not cite the words of Lucian, in his account of the death of Peregrinus, because I do not think the supper in a prison, provided by his Christian visitors, corresponded with the agapæ of the church. If it did, then it was sometimes celebrated where the whole church could not assemble. Possibly Lucian received an exaggerated account of the carrying of the elements of the Lord's supper to the prison, as the early Christians were accustomed to convey them to those who could not be present at the celebration of the eucharist in the church.

‡ See also Orig. c. Cels. i. 1. Chrys. Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. et Serm. de Verb. ap. 1 Cor. xi. 19.

§ Apol. i.

|| De Laps. 2.

¶ Lib. ii. sec. 11.

same import, the right hand of fellowship. The exchange of a token of friendship which was originally enjoined by express apostolical authority, for one which has only an incidental notice in apostolical history, without being enjoined upon any, is an instance of our retaining the spirit of an apostolic ordinance, where the form, or sacrament, or sacred sign, is entirely abandoned. So long as it remained in the Christian church, it was regarded as an accompaniment of the eucharist, although it was usually omitted before Easter on account of the treacherous kiss of Judas Iscariot.\*

\* See note of Kortholt in *Langi et Kortholti Annotationes in Just. Mart. Apol. pri. ed. a Grabe*, p. 40.

## APPENDIX TO LECTURE I.

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A. Page 20.

ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE ANCIENT DISCIPLINE AND THE  
ROMISH DOCTRINE OF PENANCE.

As no part of the controversy with the Romanists is more important than that which relates to auricular confession, and the discipline of penance ; and as no part of their system is more dangerous, or more liable to abuse,—no part on which the power of the priesthood so firmly reposes ; it may be desirable to notice how entirely destitute of support is their sacrament of penance from that Christian antiquity to which they profess to appeal. To expose the futility of their appeal is the more needful, as many persons, unacquainted with the subject, are a good deal influenced by the frequent references in early ecclesiastical history to penance and penitents, confession and absolution, as intimating a kind of discipline unlike anything which they find in Protestant communities. The presumption, however, in favour of the Romish practice entirely disappears on a very slight acquaintance with the subject. Without professing to follow the ancient discipline (for the Bible alone is our religion), we believe that its substance was scriptural, although its forms were unauthorized, and that the substance has been lost in Protestant communities, because excommunication, as indeed church censure of every kind, has been regarded rather as a civil, than as an ecclesiastical proceeding. According to the discipline of the early ages, offenders were separated from the communion of the church for gross and scandalous crimes. Many of them sought restoration, and were admitted to the classes of penitents. In several respects their situation was similar to that of the catechumens. By the course of penance satisfaction was made to the church, and they were absolved from the censure and sentence of

excommunication which they had suffered. Whatever might have been the corruptions and abuses of such a system, and whatever the unevangelic severity of church officers and clergy; the leading principles of their penance were evidently nothing more than such as are implied in the power which every voluntary society exercises in excluding such members as violate the expressed or understood conditions of their membership, and in prescribing the manner in which they should make satisfaction to the society for the injury it has received. If this be a correct account of the ancient discipline of penitents, it is, in every important particular, utterly unlike the Romish sacrament of penance. Happily, we have more information upon this subject than upon most others connected with the ancient church, and the contrast can be easily established. So much is said about the lapsed, their penance and their restoration, that we cannot mistake the character of the ancient discipline. The perusal of Tertullian's tract, "*De Pœnitentia*,"\* or of Cyprian's "*De Lapsis*," will be quite sufficient to satisfy any candid reader.

The persons subjected to penance in the ancient church were such as had been excommunicated or suspended from religious ordinances, on account of their having been unfaithful in time of persecution, or having fallen into grievous and scandalous sins. The penance of the Romish church is imposed upon its recognized members, who are under no sentence of excommunication. The ancient penance was willingly accepted by the offenders, who in the porch of the church entreated permission to enter upon the well-known discipline; the penances of the Romish church are imposed by the priest after confession. The exomologesis, or confession, was made publicly; that term sometimes denoting the whole penance, commencing in the porch, and completed in the midst of the church, sometimes the last public act: the Romish confession is most sacredly private and auricular. When the offenders are said to make satisfaction for their sins, the meaning evidently is that they satisfied the church, or its officers, for the scandal they had brought upon it, or the injury they had inflicted: in the Romish church they make satisfaction by penance to the injured majesty of God. Having no closer connexion with the church than the catechumens they continued in the penitential classes for two, three, five, and sometimes even ten or more years; and, according to the severe notions of the early ages, they could perform this penance only once, so that, if

\* This tract is regarded by Neander, Kaye, and almost all commentators, as having been written before its author left the church; but if he were a Montanist when he wrote it, it is confirmed in every particular by ecclesiastical authority.

they afterwards relapsed, they were regarded as incorrigible, and left to the uncovenanted mercies of God; in the Romish church penance is a sacrament for the sins of the faithful, and is continually repeated. The absolution of the penitent by the imposition of hands, was his restoration to the privileges of the community with great solemnity, in the presence of the congregation, when, amidst many prayers, the bishop raised the penitent, assured him of the forgiveness of the church, and restored him to the rank of the faithful; in the Romish church, the absolution belongs to the confessional, not to the public service, and is represented as the pardon of certain sins, of which the people have no knowledge. From the Romish practice, no institution can be more remote than the ancient discipline; the one was a sacrament of the faithful; the other, a restoration of the excommunicated: the one, according to the council of Trent, the confession of each and every secret sin; the other, a public acknowledgment of grievous injury, inflicted upon the Christian society. To exhibit the several particulars we have adduced, we have only, in the most cursory manner, to glance at the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity.

That the ancient penance was imposed upon excommunicated persons preparatory to their restoration, is so apparent in the whole discipline of the penitents and in every allusion to them, that to cite particular passages is unnecessary to the most superficial reader of ecclesiastical history. The perpetrators of scandalous and flagitious crimes, together with those who had apostatized in times of persecution, were the persons who, having been disowned by the Christian society, were often found at the entrance of the church, soliciting the prayers of the people, and entreating to be allowed to obtain restoration by the public and established course of penance. Until they were allowed to assume the character of penitents, they were not permitted to enter the church, nor to have any participation in its privileges. They were not, until recognized as belonging to the penitential class, permitted to stand even in the narthex, where they might hear the discourse to the catechumens, but daily were prostrate about the cloisters or courts of the church, and so received the name of *χειμάζοντες*, exposed to the inclemency of the weather. The remarkable instance of the Emperor Theodosius, who, after the barbarous massacre of the people of Thessalonica, wished to attend Divine service in the cathedral at Milan, affords sufficient illustration of this particular. Although an emperor, he was regarded as excommunicated by Ambrose; and until, as a penitent, he publicly con-



fessed his sin, and submitted to the discipline of the church, he was not allowed to enter the sacred edifice.

The excommunicated themselves earnestly entreated to be admitted to the course of penitence. Thus, Tertullian represents them, (*De Pœnitentia*, c. ix.) as prostrate before the presbyters and the beloved of God, and as entreating of all the brethren the "*legationes deprecationis suæ*," the embassy to deprecate their punishment. The Greeks employed the word *πρεσβεῖα* in the same sense, (*Chrys. Hom.* 3.) So one Natalius, who had been a heretic and denied the divinity of Christ, on his recanting, in sackcloth and ashes fell down before the bishop, and became suppliant at the feet not only of the clergy but also of the laity, and thus moved the compassion of the church. (*Eus. Hist. Ecc.* l. v. c. 28. See also Basil in *Ps.* xxii. § 3. Ambrose *de Pœnit.* ii. 9, 10.) The confession was a public bewailing of the sin for months and years in a state of separation from the church, compared with the penance of the king of Babylon in his seven years' banishment from his kingdom. (*Tertullian de Pœnit.* c. xii. See also *De Orat.* c. vii. *De Pal.* c. xiii. *Irenæus* i. 13. *Cyp. Ep.* 12. *De Lap.* c. 11, 12, 20.)

The satisfaction for sin made by the penitents was for the injury and scandal done to the church. Augustine distinguishes the satisfaction made to God from the satisfaction made to the church; the former for secret sins, the latter for public offences. (*Ench.* 65, 70, 71.)

Penance was imposed for years, sometimes even for life. (*Irenæus* i. 13, iii. 4. *Conc. Illib.* c. 3, 13. *Conc. Neoc.* c. 2. *Conc. Arel.* i. c. 14, with other decrees of councils.)\* *Cyprian* complains bitterly of the unseasonable haste with which the lapsed had been released from their sentence. (*De Laps.* c. 12.) It was allowed only once. *Tertullian* says, "God has placed in the porch a second repentance, but only one, and never any more." (*De Pœnit.* 7, *ibid* 9. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* ii. 13. *Orig. Hom.* 15, in *Levit.* Ambrose *de Pœnit.* ii. 10.) The absolution of the penitent was made publicly on his restoration to the communion of the faithful, as is apparent from continual references to the penitents in sackcloth being led to the altar or the desk in the presence of the people, and having their sins remitted by being delivered from the state of excommunication. *Cyprian* explains the discipline of penance in a few words. "All penitents continue for a proper time in the state of penance, and make confession; and their life being examined, they cannot be

\* See Canons of Nice,—Note B. p. 46.

admitted to the communion unless they receive the imposition of hands from the bishop and clergy." (Cyp. Ep. 12.)

Add to these particulars the ancient form of absolution for penitents, which is only a prayer for their pardon, (Liturg. Jac. in Bibl. Patt.) the ancient maxim that the church did not take account of smaller sins, and the truth, distinctly asserted as by Cyprian, that remission cannot be had in the church for a sin committed against God, (Test. ad. Quir. lib. iii. § 28,) and in every particular the Romish sacrament of penance, with its auricular confession frequently repeated, will appear in direct contrast with the ancient discipline. That the absolution at the altar was always supplicatory, and the absolute form, 'I absolve thee,' was not introduced until the twelfth century, Archbp. Usher, in his Answer to the Jesuits' Challenge, and Bingham (Antiq. lib. xix. c. 1), have clearly proved. We acknowledge that private confessions of sins were made as between Christian friends, and that persons privately confessed their sins in great trouble of mind in order to obtain the best advice from the priest. To such private confessions we find many references. That the penitentiary presbyters appointed after the Decian persecution, when the number of the lapsed applying to be received as penitents was very large, affords no authority for the confessions of the Romish church, is evident from the account of the institution, as related by Socrates, (l. v. c. 19,) and Sozomen, (l. vii. 16,) and has been clearly proved by Bingham, (Antiq. xviii. 3.) These confessions, although privately taken, were intended to be used publicly, as the offenders were admitted to penance. That the faithful for the health of their souls were obliged to confess their secret sins to a priest, and that they received from him absolution on performing a private penance, is an assertion as distinctly opposed to the testimony of ecclesiastical history, as it is to that of the evangelical doctrine. This palpable and scandalous imposition was unknown even amidst the gross corruptions of the fifth and sixth century. The origin of the Romish practice of indulgences may be easily traced to the remission of part of the penitential discipline on account of peculiar circumstances, as the intercession of martyrs, or the inability to endure severe treatment on the approach of death. The next note will afford an illustration.

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## B. Page 26.

## UNCTION NOT THE SACRAMENT OF THE DYING.

THAT unction was not the sacrament of the dying in the early church, is evident from the practice of administering the eucharist to them, as "the last viaticum," without any reference to anointing. An instance from Eusebius will illustrate the preceding note, as well as confirm this remark. Serapion, having sacrificed, was excommunicated, and could not obtain the prayers or religious communion of the faithful. In the article of death he obtained the eucharist partly on account of the emergency, partly on account of his previous irreproachable character. Having received this sign of re-union to the church, he is said to have been absolved, although from the history it is certain he could not have been anointed. Eusebius cites the account from a letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to Fabius of Antioch. I adduce a translation, as there is no necessity to cite the original.

"There was one Serapion, an aged believer, who had passed his long life irreproachably, but as he had sacrificed during the persecution, though he frequently begged, no one would listen to him. He was taken sick, and continued three days in succession speechless and senseless. On the fourth day, recovering a little, he called his grandchild to him, and said, 'O son, how long do you detain me? I beseech you hasten, and quickly absolve me. Call one of the presbyters to me.' Saying this he again became speechless. The boy ran to the presbyter, but it was night, and the presbyter was sick. As I had before issued an injunction that those at the point of death, if they desired it, and especially if they entreated for it before, should receive absolution, that they might depart from life in comfortable hope, I gave the boy a small portion of the eucharist, telling him to dip it in water and to drop it into the mouth of the old man. The boy returned with the morsel. When he came near, before he entered, Serapion having again recovered himself, said, 'Thou hast come, my son, but the presbyter could not come; do thou quickly perform what thou art commanded, and dismiss me!' The boy moistened it, and at the same time dropped it into the old man's mouth. And he, having swallowed a little, immediately expired. Was he not then evidently preserved, and did he not continue living until he was absolved; and his sins being wiped away,

he could be acknowledged as a believer for the many good acts that he had done?" (Eus. Hist. Ecc. l. vi. c. 44.)

The thirteenth canon of the Nicene council not only represents the eucharist as the last and most necessary viaticum for the dying penitent, but with the two preceding, will illustrate the condition of the penitents in the fourth century. The council of Nice was convened in the year 325.

#### ΚΑΝΩΝ ΙΑ'.

Περὶ τῶν παραβάτων χωρὶς ἀνάγκης, ἢ χωρὶς ἀφαιρέσεως ὑπαρχόντων, ἢ χωρὶς κινδύνου, ἢ τινος τοιούτου, ὃ γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῆς τυραννίδος Δικινίου· ἔδοξε τῇ συνόδῳ, εἰ καὶ ἀνάξιοι ἦσαν φιλανθρωπίας, ὅμως χρηστεύσασθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς. ὅσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμελῶνται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοί· καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται· δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.

#### ΚΑΝΩΝ ΙΒ'.

Οἱ δὲ προσκληθέντες μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς χάριτος καὶ τὴν πρώτην ὁρμὴν ἐνδειξάμενοι, καὶ ἀποθέμενοι τὰς ζώνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἔμετον ἀναδραμόντες ὡς κύνες, ὡς τινες καὶ ἀργύρια προέσθαι, καὶ βενεφικίοις κατορθῶσαι τὸ ἀναστρατεύσασθαι· οὗτοι δέκα ἔτη ὑποπιπτέτωσαν, μετὰ τὸν τῆς τριετοῦς ἀκροάσεως χρόνον. ἐφ' ἅπασιν δὲ τούτοις, προσήκει ἐξετάζειν τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ τὸ ἔϊδος τῆς μετανοίας. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ δάκρυσιν καὶ ὑπομονῇ καὶ ἀγαθοεργίαις, τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἔργῳ καὶ οὐ σχήματι ἐπιδείκνυνται, οὗτοι πληρώσαντες τὸν χρόνον τὸν ὠρισμένον τῆς ἀκροάσεως, εἰκότως τῶν εὐχῶν κοινωνήσουσι, μετὰ τοῦ ἐξεῖναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ φιλανθρωπότερόν τι περὶ αὐτῶν βουλευσάσθαι, ὅσοι δὲ ἀδιαφόρως ἤνεγκαν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀρκεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἡγήσαντο πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστρέφειαν, ἐξ ἅπαντος πληροῦτωσαν τὸν χρόνον.

#### ΚΑΝΩΝ ΙΓ'.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐξοδούντων, ὁ παλαιὸς καὶ κανονικὸς νόμος φυλαχθήσεται καὶ νῦν, ὥστε ἕτις ἐξοδεύει, τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἀπογνωσθεὶς καὶ κοινωνίας πάλιν τυχῶν, πάλιν ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἔξετασθῇ, μετὰ τῶν κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνῃς ἔστω. καθόλου δὲ καὶ περὶ παντὸς οὕτινοςοῦν ἐξοδέοντος αἰτοῦντος δὲ μετασχεῖν εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας μεταδιδότω τῆς προσφορᾶς.—See Routh's Opuscula, tom. i. p. 361.

## C. Page 32.

ON THE SERVICE OF THE SYNAGOGUE, AS AFFECTING THE INSTITUTIONS  
OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

THERE are few inquiries of more interest to the theologian, or of more importance to the general reader, than the origin of those subordinate parts of religious worship, those forms and observances of the primitive Christians, for which there can be adduced no express Divine authority. A few thoughts upon this subject may be necessary in enabling us to determine some questions which relate to the Christian sacraments. That some regulations for conducting public worship, some institutions for the government of the churches, must have existed, more minute and circumstantial than those which are enjoined in the New Testament, is undeniable. A thousand questions arise, as, What were the hours of worship? who presided? how was the worship conducted? how were members accredited? how were officers appointed? how often was the Lord's supper administered? were strangers invited to witness the celebration? was singing customary? did Christians kneel or stand in prayer? was prayer offered silently, or in an audible voice, by one on behalf of the others; and if so, who prayed for the brethren? These, and many similar questions, suggest one or two others of greater importance. How, and by what authority, were these things determined? Was the practice of the apostolic churches uniform, and are we bound invariably to follow it as our precedent? That the modes of worship and precise discipline of the church were severally ordained by express revelation, is an assertion without any support, so far as I know, from the New Testament. Had such a revelation been made in the first age of the church, there can be little doubt that it would have been preserved for our instruction. Express authority for the ancient discipline would be, if it existed, the Divine rule of ecclesiastical government in all ages; and we can scarcely suppose that a Divine rule of permanent obligation and use would have been allowed to perish in the ravages of time. Great principles of church polity are unquestionably to be found in holy Scripture, but minute regulations are rather incidentally mentioned than distinctly recorded. The inference is, that no church system, beyond these great principles, can plead prescriptive authority from God. With respect to questions in which there is no direction or precedent to be found, there can be no difficulty, although there may be some in those instances in which we



have an apostolic precedent, without an injunction expressed or implied. For instance, ought every church to have precisely seven deacons, because in the only specification of the number in the New Testament there were seven? Ought the Lord's supper to be administered invariably after sunset, because we have that time mentioned in the account of the institution? Ought the people audibly to say Amen in the public service, because such a practice seems to have been observed in the Corinthian church? The resolution of many such questions will depend upon the principle, if we can discover one in the Christian Scriptures, applicable to these inquiries; and this principle will depend, in a great degree, upon the origin and rise of the regulations of the church.

The service of the synagogue was, strictly speaking, no part of Judaism; it did not belong to the Levitical economy; it was nowhere contemplated in the laws of Moses. The Jewish service was properly ceremonial and typical, a figure for the time then being, belonging originally to the tabernacle, subsequently to the temple. To Jerusalem it was restricted, there its priests were to officiate; but there the Jews were required to assemble only at the great festivals. Judaism provided no religious worship for the people. Exclusively a ceremonial dispensation, it afforded no regular instruction to the inhabitants of Palestine.

Were then the Jews under no obligation to worship God statedly in public assemblies, or to meet together for religious instruction on the sabbath, or on other occasions? Although nothing is prescribed in the law of Moses, yet we do not believe that the Israel of God was left without some system of public worship and religious instruction. We do not believe that, at any time, Judaism, the peculiar institute of Moses, was the whole of the religion of the Jews. As they had circumcision and the sabbath from the fathers, we doubt not they had also public worship from the same ancient source. In the patriarchal ages men called upon the name of the Lord; the sabbath was instituted; religious instructors were raised and qualified by the Spirit of God; Noah was a preacher of righteousness; Abraham taught his numerous tribe to worship the God of all the families of the earth. Is it then credible that the patriarchal worship was abrogated in Israel? The argument of the apostle in the Epistle to the Galatians, that the promise made to Abraham could not be disannulled by the law of Moses succeeding after the lapse of 430 years, would seem to justify the conclusion that Judaism could repeal no patriarchal institution of Divine authority. Instead of many places for sacrifice one great altar was provided for the nation; but it does not appear that,

instead of many sanctuaries, one great sanctuary for religious instruction was appointed. Instruction was certainly not the object of the temple service. I, therefore, infer that public worship, being of the fathers, an ancient institution of Divine authority, was not abrogated by the law of Moses. That its forms were regularly observed without intermission I do not assert, for even the great law of circumcision fell into desuetude during the government of Moses, until it was renewed by Joshua; but that they ought to have been, and usually were, observed, I have no doubt. That there is no account of a religious congregation meeting on the sabbath, is but a negation of evidence of no great moment, for, on the same authority, it might be contended that circumcision was not practised from the reproach of Gilgal to the birth of John the Baptist, seeing no instance of the practice is recorded. There are several considerations which induce me to conclude that there was observed in Israel, with some intermissions, the patriarchal institution of Divine worship, independently of the authority or prescription of the Mosaic law.

The Mosaic law strictly enjoins the hallowing of the sabbath, as a day to be scrupulously observed. But what were the people to do on the sabbath? From the sanctuary of Moses there issued no invitations to the people. When settled in the land of promise, they were to go up to the ark of the Lord only three times in a year. Some have contended that the Jewish sabbath was intended to be only a day of rest and feasting. That many made it a day of idleness and pleasure I do not doubt; and such conduct, if it was not a day for religious worship, was not to be blamed. But what say the prophets of Israel? "For thus saith the Lord unto the eunuchs that keep my sabbaths, and choose the things that please me, and take hold of my covenant, Even unto them will I give, in my house, and within my walls, a place and a name better than of sons and of daughters." Isa. lvi. 4, 5. "If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable, and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord, and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob thy father; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it." Isa. lviii. 13, 14. It would seem, from these and similar passages, that the laws of Moses, in prohibiting work on the sabbath, were enacted with reference to religious duties performed on that day, according to some other institution of Divine authority.

Again, we find in the Jewish history a provision for the religious instruction of the people, entirely distinct from the Mosaic law. I refer especially to the institutions and schools of the prophets. From Abraham to Messiah, with few intermissions, there seems to have been a succession of prophets and teachers, divinely authorized and inspired. The Spirit of prophecy which fell upon Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was found with Simeon and Anna, and, doubtless, with others of their age, who waited for the consolation of Israel. But the instruction of the prophets was no part of the Levitical law; it corresponded more nearly with the patriarchal than with the Jewish economy. These teachers were of various tribes, of Ephraim, of Manasseh, of Judah, and of Benjamin, of which tribes Moses spake nothing concerning the priesthood. They delivered prophecies, but not by consulting the Urim and Thummim; they offered sacrifices, but not in the court of the temple; they were publicly acknowledged as the men of God, but not attached to the Levitical service; they taught their disciples in schools, like those in after ages belonging to the synagogues. That the prophets of the Old Testament held public assemblies is intimated in several passages. Samuel said to Saul, "Thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them." 1 Sam. x. 5. This high place was on the hill of God. May we not suppose it was a sanctuary to which the prophets resorted for religious worship, and from which they were returning with their instruments of praise? So at Ramah (the high place) the messengers of Saul "saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them." 1 Sam. xix. 20. They were evidently performing a religious service. That the people were accustomed to attend their ministry on the sabbath, and other days of leisure, we may infer from the narrative of the Shunammite, who excited the surprise of her husband, by proposing to visit Elisha at Carmel: "And he said, Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor sabbath; and she said, It will be well." 2 Kings iv. 23. So the Jews are represented as making a false profession of religion in the time of the captivity: "And they come unto thee as my people cometh, and they sit before thee as my people, and they hear thy words, but they will not do them." Ezek. xxxiii. 31. In Israel, therefore, as in the land of Uz, the sons of God, at stated seasons, came to present themselves before the Lord, and the prophets addressed them on those occasions. We have thus a Divine institution in Israel, altogether distinct from the Levitical dispensation, of collateral authority with it; not typical, but didactic; not of

Moses, but of the fathers ; chiefly intended, it would seem, for the religious instruction of the people, and especially on the sabbath.

It is said, (Ps. lxxiv. 8,) "They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land." The words *הביתים* may indeed denote the various rooms of the temple, but it seems more natural to refer the plural to several places of assembly. Gesenius says, after noticing other meanings, "(If the Psalm pertains to the time of the Maccabees) the Jewish synagogues,"—suggesting this interpretation, if the time of the Psalm would allow it. It thus affords some confirmation, however slight, that places of worship were erected in the land before this Psalm was composed.

As soon as we become acquainted with the Jews after the return from the captivity, we find that synagogues were everywhere established. "Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath-day." The Scriptures were expounded, or their truths preached, in the vernacular languages, a custom pronounced to be of considerable antiquity by the apostle James. In no city were Jews to be found without a synagogue. Josephus cites Agatharchides, a pagan writer, as testifying that the Jews in the age of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, spent their sabbaths in their holy places. (Con. Ap. l. i. § 22.) Even in their temporary sojourn in Jerusalem, the men of different nations had their several synagogues. It seems difficult to account for the universal erection of these houses of worship, if the Jews did not generally believe that they belonged to the ancient and Divine religion of their ancestors. The Jewish authorities universally ascribe the custom of publicly reading the law on the sabbath to the age of Moses. So Josephus (con. Ap. l. ii. § 17) says, Moses "permitted the people to abstain from their employments, and to assemble together for the hearing of the law and learning it exactly, and this not once or twice or oftener, but every week." Philo to the same purpose says, "From that time," (of Moses) "the Jews have been accustomed to inculcate the principles of their religion on the seventh days, setting apart that to the study and contemplation of the works of nature ; for what are their praying places in every city but schools of wisdom and piety?" (De Vit. Mosis, lib. iii.)

Many learned men contend that the synagogues were first erected on the return of the Jews from Babylon, and find their origin and model in the account of Ezra reading from a wooden stage the book of the law. The universal prevalence of the practice forbids us to assign a later date ; but why may we not believe with the



Jewish authorities that they existed before the captivity? We are referred, in reply, to the silence of the Scriptures, which we have already noticed, and to the scarcity of the book of the law on certain occasions in Israel and Judah. The latter circumstance is not, I think, conclusive. The synagogues, if existing, were probably in idolatrous reigns forsaken, or converted into high places of idolatry. Although the reading of the law was the principal part of the service when copies were multiplied, yet when they were scarce, the oral teaching of the prophets, who must have convened some assemblies of the people, might have supplied its place. Nor is it improbable that in the schools of the prophets copies of the law were preserved and transcribed, from which their scholars might publicly read to the people. It should be observed that we find synagogues among the Jews who did not return from Chaldea, as well as among those of Egypt and throughout all the world. I do not suppose that the mode of worship was uniformly preserved. The substitution of the written law, and afterwards of the book of the prophets, for oral instruction, must have occasioned a considerable change. The mission of Jehoshaphat is sometimes adduced to prove that there was no public service in the time of the Kings, resembling that of the synagogue. It is said that Jehoshaphat "sent to his princes. . . . and with them he sent Levites . . . and they taught in Judah, and had the book of the law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people." 2 Chron. xvii. 7—9. It might have been an extraordinary thing for the king to send persons through the cities, on account of the scarcity of prophets and leaders. In those days, as in the time of Eli, the word of the Lord might have been very precious, and there might have been no open vision. What could have rendered this mission necessary, unless there had been some interruption of the regular instruction of the people? May we not conclude that this was an extraordinary means of supplying the ordinary Divine service which had been neglected in the previous reigns?

Our Lord evidently accredited the worship of the synagogue; since he observed its usual forms, and united in its regular celebration. No attentive reader of the New Testament can imagine that He regarded the service as a Pharisaic tradition.

Judaism, we are frequently told, is abolished; but the service of the synagogue, correctly understood, was not Judaism. Whether it was derived from the patriarchal service, or was instituted by Ezra, it was no part of the Mosaic law. Moses was indeed read, as were



the prophets, but the reading of the law did not bring the service within the Mosaic institutions. Judaism belonged to the temple, and its ritual was entirely abolished by the Gospel. This is so expressly declared, that we know not how any Christians could have imagined that the temple service was the model of the Christian church. A sacrificial liturgy for sin, typical of the work of Christ, is totally unlike the public worship of Christians. It pleased, however, the ecclesiastics who corrupted the early discipline of the church, to found their hierarchy upon the sacerdotal offices of the temple. With the fathers, the bishops and presbyters were successors of the priests and Levites, the Lord's supper became a sacrifice, and the gifts of the faithful, the oblations of the altar.

We are now prepared for the inquiry, What use was made of the service of the synagogue, in forming the early institutions of the Christian churches? This is a question of fact, and can be answered only by an induction of particulars. Let us confine the inquiry to those particulars which we know from the New Testament belonged to the Christian church of the apostolic age.

The Christians adopted the name under apostolic sanction, and applied it to their places of assembly. James, writing to the twelve tribes of the dispersion, says to the Christians among them, "If there come into your synagogue" (English version, assembly,) "a man with a gold ring." The use of the word may prepare us to expect a resemblance in the worship. It appears also from this passage in James, that, as there were chief seats in the synagogues, there were more honourable places in the Christian assembly. The apostle seems to allow the distinction, but to censure the Christians for assigning the uppermost seats to the rich, rather than to the poor rich in faith. I do not, however, ascribe much importance to this particular, which might have been only an accidental distinction, though the apostle seems to speak of it as a general practice, for he did not write to a particular church.

There were in the synagogues certain men of reputation, entrusted with the direction of the assembly, and called rulers. Thus Jairus was one of the rulers of the synagogue at Capernaum: Crispus and Sosthenes were rulers of the synagogue at Corinth.\* They appear to have acted in concert, as at Antioch the rulers of the synagogue sent unto Paul and his companions. In the Christian churches officers were appointed, "who had the rule over them." The rulers of the

\* Unfortunately our version represents Crispus as the *chief* ruler of the synagogue, as it does Sosthenes; but the word is elsewhere used in the plural, and cannot designate one ruler as superior to the others. See Acts xiii. 15.

synagogue were called elders and bishops, as were the officers of the Christian church; their council was called the presbytery,—so was that of the Christian officers. (1 Tim. iv. 14.) Both in the synagogue and the church, the induction into office was by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery. The presiding officer, or the person who publicly officiated, was called the legate or angel of the synagogue; each church of Asia Minor had its angel. Distinct from the presbyters, were officers to minister in the secular affairs of the assembly, as in the church were faithful men chosen to serve tables, *διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*, to attend to pecuniary affairs. According to the Jewish authorities, the president of the synagogue ought to be a married man; and the apostle enjoins that a bishop be “the husband of one wife.” In the synagogues especial provision was made for widows, very much in accordance with the directions of St. Paul. Alms were collected in the synagogues for the poor; in every church there was a fellowship of saints. Contributions were made in the synagogues of the Hellenists for the poor of Jerusalem; the apostles commanded the Gentile churches to remember the poor at Jerusalem, which Paul “was forward to do.” Offenders were put out of the synagogue, excommunicated. St. Paul commands the Corinthians to put away the unclean person. In every synagogue was a court of arbitration to settle differences among the members, the decisions of which were usually respected by the Roman authorities; the apostle reproves the Corinthians for not having adopted this expedient to prevent the scandal of their lawsuits. When Ezra blessed the Lord, the great God, all the people answered, Amen, Amen, lifting up their hands, which form of expressing assent in public worship was preserved in the synagogues. The apostle represents the unlearned as “saying Amen, at the giving of thanks,” and he “would that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands.” It would be easy to multiply these particulars, but quite sufficient has been stated to prove the close analogy of the synagogue and the church in their forms and discipline. That the Jews would borrow their ritual from the church we cannot suppose, and in a subsequent age the Christians bore as little good-will to the Jews. Besides, we have scriptural evidence to sustain us in asserting that the above particulars were as ancient as the Christian era. We are, therefore, compelled to admit that the rites, offices, discipline, and government of the first Christian churches, were, in several particulars, derived from the synagogue, under the sanction of apostolic authority. We have in the lecture traced the resemblance between the sabbath feasts of the synagogue and the love-feasts of the church. There is another particular of considerable

importance, but as it is disputed, I shall not attempt the proof in this note, already too long, (although the evidence is easily accessible;) the officers both of the synagogue and of the early churches were appointed on the suffrages of the people. On reviewing the subject of this note, it is pleasing to contemplate the evidence of the regular performance of public worship, one day in every week, in the assemblies of the pious, from the creation to the present time, with less variation of form and ritual than in the great change of dispensations might have been expected. The venerable Amen of the days of Ezra is still heard in our assemblies, the Psalms of David are still sung in the congregation of the Lord, the sabbath of Paradise is still hallowed in the Christian church. For the Jewish authorities in support of the several particulars in this note, the reader is referred to Lightfoot, Selden, Vitringa de Synog. Vet. Calmet, Prideaux, Ikenius, Horne's Introduction, pt. iii. ch. 1, § 4. Lardner's Credibility, b. I. ch. ix. 6. Grotius in Act. xv. 21.

## LECTURE II.

### ON THE PERPETUITY AND DESIGN OF THE SACRAMENTS.

“And ye shall observe this thing for an ordinance to thee and to thy sons for ever.”—*Exodus* xii. 24.

“Nemo in castra hostium transit, nisi projectis armis suis, nisi destitutis signis et sacramentis principis sui.”—*Tertullian de Spectaculis*, c. xxiv.

IN the preceding Lecture, we noticed the several institutions which are observed as sacraments, or as of a sacramental character, by various denominations of Christians, and so prepared for the consideration of those two symbolical services, which, as we believe, are of perpetual obligation in the Christian church. It may be more convenient, and may bring the subject, in both its parts, more distinctly before you, if, instead of diverging at this point to treat separately of baptism and the Lord's supper, I notice, in one Lecture, the perpetuity and the symbolic character of these services, in opposition both to those who deny their permanent obligation, and to those who regard them as more than symbols, so far, but only so far, as the same arguments and the same objections are applicable to both institutions.

The society of Friends, as well as some small communities of Christians on the continent, reject both baptism and the Lord's supper, assuming as their distinctive principle, that all worship by means of forms and ceremonies

is utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the Christian religion. It may seem too much like subtle evasion, to say that neither baptism nor the Lord's supper is an act of worship, since they are both regarded by us as symbols of doctrine, representations of important truth by *significant acts*, instead of *significant words*; and therefore the objection, strictly and correctly stated, ought to be, that all exposition of Christian truth, by significant actions or religious rites, is utterly inconsistent with the spirit of the Gospel. But as writers of reputation among the Friends object that we employ these rites in immediate connexion with the more direct and public acts of worship, I will, without demurring upon a distinction which they say they cannot acknowledge, although it appears to me both evident and important, admit the objection, as it is stated by themselves.

If there is the most distinct and unexceptionable evidence of the practice of the apostles in observing the rites of baptism and the supper; it is, we maintain, little to the purpose to collect a multitude of passages which declare the spirituality of the Christian dispensation. That "the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost," is a great and important truth, for in these words the apostle asserts the invariable distinction between the essential principles of Christian doctrine, and all symbolic institutions subservient to them. The kingdom of heaven—the reign of Christ—consists not in the latter, but in the former; not in the external signs, but in the truths signified. But in the assertion of this truth did the apostle construct an argument against his own practice in baptizing the Philipian jailer, or in breaking bread at Troas? If the argument be valid in our times, it must have been equally so in the apostolic age; for the kingdom of heaven has not changed; and powerful as it may seem in the estimation of the society of Friends, it unquestionably had no such



power in the estimation of the apostles. To interpret this passage as implying that all symbolic observances are inconsistent with the true spirit of the Gospel, suggests the inquiry, Are we to suppose that the apostles authorized such inconsistencies, and imposed them for a time upon the church? The reply of "the Friends," that they acted in condescension to the infirmities of the Jews, is of no avail. If the kingdom of God were not meat and drink, if it were not form and ceremony; would the apostles have made it meat and drink, form and ceremony, by a concession to the prejudices of any men or women upon the face of the earth? But if *their* observance of symbolic rites did not adulterate the Gospel, neither does *ours*; if at the very time that they were baptizing their converts, and breaking bread among their disciples, they did not make the kingdom of God meat and drink, neither does it become carnal and ceremonial through our imitation of their example. We do only as they did. There may be, and if there are, let the Quakers produce them, good reasons for relinquishing the apostolic practice; but we cannot admit that the apostles reduced the Gospel to shadow and ceremony, or that their practice was in opposition to the truth of their own text so often cited against us. The slightest attention to this passage would show that it refers to things indifferent, and is much more appropriate to the peculiarities of dress and of speech which distinguish "the Friends," than it is to the symbols of our faith, which, if not of Divine authority, are profane inventions of men. If it be said, that the sacraments were allowed as things indifferent, then the argument of "the Friends" must be abandoned, because being only indifferent, and not inconsistent with the Christian religion, there lies against them no such objection as they allege; and things in themselves indifferent, that is, things in themselves innocent, when sanctioned by apostolic practice, are surely not now to be made grounds of division

among the disciples of Christ. That previously to the advent of Christ God appointed a religious institute, in which evangelical truth was exhibited in ceremony and sacrament, is universally admitted, as indeed it is absolutely undeniable. To what extent, on the coming of the Messiah, symbolic services were abolished, or retained, or modified, it is for no man to decide, without appealing to the New Testament, upon any general views of the simplicity or the spirituality of the Gospel. If for wise reasons God appointed in the Jewish church a number of magnificent, though burdensome ceremonies; for reasons equally wise, he may have ordained in the Christian church a few of a simpler character. If in regard to the infirmities of the Jews, as "the Friends" assert, many ceremonial observances were ordained in the ancient church, for aught they know, there may be infirmities so inherent in human nature, or so generally prevalent, as to render a few simple forms desirable, if not absolutely necessary, for the great majority in every age of the world. Is not the Christian church surrounded with infirmities, and for the sake of the weak brethren, if no better reason could be given, may not sacramental services be imposed even upon the strong? Every man is to look not upon his own things only, but also upon the things of others: for mutual edification is the chief end of that church-union in which believers are commanded to associate. If any man has attained to a Gnostic perfection, in which no sacraments can aid his pure and abstract contemplations of God, let him consider that there are many in the church whose infirmities place them on a level with the more prejudiced and feebler Christians of the apostolic communities. To say that these observances were for a season conceded to the prejudices or the superstitions of the Jewish converts, but were subsequently to be renounced, would be to exhibit the apostolic churches, when acting in obedience to the apostolic authority, not as models for succeeding ages to

copy, but as beacons for them to avoid; not as exhibiting the strength and beauty of the Christian faith, but its feebleness and deficiency through the beggarly elements of the world.

Besides, is it not remarkable that if the apostles, from regard to the prejudice of the age, appointed these unchristian services, they should have made no provision for their gradual disuse; should have given no intimation of that glorious emancipation from sensual ordinances, to which "the Friends" have happily attained by their abstract contemplation of Divine truth in her simple majesty, unattended by the heraldry of painted symbols? On the contrary, so far from having done so, they have left these carnal ceremonies unimpaired to their successors, who, in the next, and in every subsequent age, have scrupulously retained them as the emblems and memorials of the truth of Christ. "The Friends," however, say that intimations of the will of Christ do exist in the New Testament. Although the apostles observed baptism and the Lord's supper, yet, it is asserted, these observances were relics of Judaism, opposed to the true spirit of Christianity. Let us then prosecute the appeal to the New Testament. We have already noticed one passage; let us now turn to another, which is frequently cited, and which the early Friends, as Barclay, who is said to be unanswerable, if not infallible, as well as their modern defenders, place in the front of their battle. I refer to the discourse of our Lord with the woman of Samaria.

Jesus said, in reply to the woman of Sychar, who had referred to him the dispute between the Jews and Samaritans respecting the worship of God in Jerusalem or mount Gerizim, "Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father; the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship

him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth." The inference deduced by Barclay from this passage is, that every system of worship by ceremonial observances, like that of the Jews or of the Samaritans, being entirely abolished, the worship of the Christian church is exclusively spiritual, without any external rite or symbolic ordinance whatsoever.

But is not this inference too general? That the spirit and character of the two dispensations are here presented in contrast, we readily acknowledge; but can we justly infer more from the passage than that the dispensation which was to succeed Judaism required no ceremonial, no visible mediation of priests or sacrifices, no sacred places nor seasons, as the means by which we draw nigh unto God? Do we not completely convey the sense and whole force of the passage, in saying that in every place, and not exclusively in one or two hallowed spots, and without any ceremonial or formal observance, every worshipper who presents the offering of a true and sincere heart is acceptable to God? In this doctrine we most entirely concur; but we can see nothing in it which forbids us to baptize a proselyte, or to observe the Supper as a memorial of our blessed Lord. If we maintained that these rites were indispensable to acceptable worship, or that they were anything more than signs of evangelical truth, the passage, with some appearance of reason, might be cited against us.

Our Lord says, "The hour cometh, and *now is*;" but by the concession of our opponents, baptism was at that time practised by the disciples of Christ under his authority, and the Lord's supper was first solemnized on a subsequent occasion. If the words of our Lord were intended to exclude all symbols from the Christian religion, would he have introduced the clause "and now is," when one symbolic service was recently appointed, though as they



say for a temporary purpose, and the other was about to be instituted by himself? The hour cometh, and after a short intervening dispensation of only two simple ceremonies, will arrive, would have been the proper phrase, if our Lord intended to teach that baptism and the Supper were to be eventually excluded from his church. If the passage, having in it the clause "and *now is*," did not exclude the two symbols from the Christian service of the apostolic age, so neither does it exclude the same symbols from the Christian service of the present day. It can have no more force now than it had at that time; it cannot act upon the future with an impulse which it did not impart to the present; it is not a prophecy of this day, but a relation of that age. The Samaritans themselves, and probably this very woman, were afterwards baptized by the evangelist Philip. These observations will apply to other passages of a similar import, cited especially from the Epistle to the Hebrews, of which Mr. Gurney gives us this summary,\*—Then "was the law of types abolished;" to which we reply in few words, that baptism and the Lord's supper did not belong to that law of types. "There is," it is a favourite passage with the Quakers, "a disannulling of the commandment going before for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof, (for the law made nothing perfect;) and there is, on the other hand," (such is the proper translation of the passage,)<sup>†</sup> "the introduction of a better hope, by the which we draw nigh

\* Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Friends, p. 64.

† Ἀθέτησις μὲν γὰρ γίνεται προαγοῆς ἐντολῆς, διὰ τὸ αὐτῆς ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελὲς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐτελείωσεν ὁ νόμος) ἐπεισαγωγὴ δὲ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος, δι' ἧς ἐγγίζομεν τῷ Θεῷ. Heb. vii. 18, 19. Through neglect of the particles μὲν and δέ, this passage is erroneously translated in the common version, as well as by Macknight, Stuart, and other translators whom I have consulted. Instead of opposing the introduction of a better hope to the disannulling of the commandment going before, they oppose it to the parenthetical clause, "the law made nothing perfect," and supply a verb, "but the bringing in of a better hope *did*."



unto God." Baptism and the Lord's supper, we reply, did not belong to "the commandment going before," but to "the better hope," which was brought in with baptism, and commemorated in the Supper. If they have discovered that the true exposition of these passages utterly excludes all ceremony and sacrament in the most simple and intelligent form, as wholly repugnant to the genius and spirit of the gospel; then, by adroitly marshalling the texts of the apostles in opposition to their practice, the Quakers confront them with their own words, and in effect say, We follow your doctrine, but not your practice; we do as you teach, but not as you act. For the apostolic practice let us now look into the apostolic records.

That John's baptism was from heaven and not of men, "the Friends" will not deny, unless they are more slow to believe than the Pharisees, who replied to the inquiry of our Lord, "We cannot tell." We are told, indeed, that John's baptism may mean his doctrine, which was from heaven; but what saith John himself? "*He that sent me to baptize with water*, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and resting upon him, the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." To this baptism Jesus submitted, not in condescension to Jewish prejudices, but that he might fulfil all righteousness. But righteousness must have respect to some law, and the inquiry is suggested, Of what law did our Lord desire to fulfil all righteousness? He could not have meant the law of Moses, nor that of the fathers, for neither Moses nor the fathers commanded to baptize in Jordan; he must have referred to the Divine commission which John had received. The expression evidently implies that the dispensation of John was a law of God, without submission to which Jesus, being a Hebrew of that age, would not have fulfilled all righteousness.

Afterwards, "the Pharisees heard that Jesus made and

baptized more disciples than John."\* Baptism was, according to these words, administered under the sanction of the Founder of the Christian faith. Because the evangelist observes, "Although Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples;" would it be imagined by those unacquainted with their writings, that the early Friends as well as their modern disciples have laid great stress upon this incidental notice? I know not how to express the feeling, with which I quote the words of so good and candid a man as Joseph John Gurney upon this passage. He says, "Those preachers of the Gospel, therefore, who consider it their duty, in conformity with the great fundamental law of Christian worship, to abstain from the practice of baptizing their converts in water, have the consolation to know that in adopting such a line of conduct, they are following the example of Him who is on all hands allowed to have afforded us a perfect pattern."† Of "a Friend" we ask, Is an argument to be raised from the conduct of our Lord, against the practice of his own apostles acting immediately under his own eye? Our Lord did not actually baptize, but would he have allowed his apostles to do anything inconsistent with his own doctrine in the discharge of their public ministry, and to do it in his own name? When the apostles administered baptism, would not every friend and every foe infer from their conduct that the rite was sanctioned by the authority of their Master? and if it was sanctioned by his authority, it is worse than irrelevant to this argument, to add, He did not actually baptize. The sense of the passage ought surely to be thus expounded, Although Jesus did not himself actually baptize, yet by the ministry of his apostles under his sanction, he virtually baptized more disciples than John.

We have now to consider the great commission which our Lord gave to his apostles: "Go, therefore, and dis-

\* John iv. 1, 2.

† Observations, &c. p. 103.

ciple all the nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." We do not maintain, as do many, that our Lord on this occasion instituted Christian baptism, for the apostles under his authority had previously administered it to great multitudes of the Jews. If, therefore, it could be shown, by any refined process of reasoning, that these words do not contain a charge given by our Lord to his apostles to baptize with water, the argument from the apostolic practice, both previous and subsequent to the death of Christ, would remain unimpaired.

The members of the society of Friends maintain, that by baptism we are here to understand, not the baptism of water which John administered, but the baptism of the Holy Ghost which Christ conferred. An able writer in the *Congregational Magazine*,\* from whom I differ with reluctance, because his views and arguments on Christian baptism, so well and powerfully sustained, in almost every particular, exactly coincide with those which I have long maintained, agrees substantially with "the Friends," and renders the passage: "Go forth, and make disciples of all nations, purifying them for the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." I adhere to the usual interpretation of the verse for several reasons.

1st. Although I place little dependence upon a traditive sense of Scripture, yet if uniformity of ancient interpretation is anywhere to be found, it is in referring to these words of our Lord as an authority for baptism by water. Whatever may be thought of the golden rule of Vincent of Lerins, this is one of the very few places to which, amidst the vagaries of even the catholic and orthodox on the meaning of single texts, it may be applied, and with a breadth which even his comprehensive terms do not include, for "all," (the faithful, as he means,—we add, and all the unfaithful too,) "in all places, and at all times,"

\* Vol. v. New Series, p. 850.

have agreed in expounding this text with perfect uniformity, as containing the commission to baptize proselytes with water. Those ancient heretics who did not practise baptism by water rejected, as I believe, the whole, or important parts of the canonical Scriptures; but I confidently make the assertion of all who have received the Christian canon. The value of this reason will be variously estimated; let it go for what it is worth, be it little or much.

2nd. If there be nothing in the context to induce us to assign a figurative, rather than a literal sense to a word, we are bound to prefer its literal signification. To baptize, although used sometimes figuratively in reference to the mind, ought to be understood, unless there be some reason to the contrary, like every other word, in its ordinary acceptance. If it be said, the words literally are, baptizing into the name of God, and not into water or with water, we reply, in other passages, where it is said any were baptized into Christ, or into the name of a person, water was emblematically employed.

3rd. Without at present considering what has been said by some writers, who have contended that the word baptize in the New Testament means, to purify; it does not seem probable that the apostles at this time were so familiar with the reference of the word to the purification of the mind, as on hearing it without explanation to understand it in that sense. Wherein does it appear that, previously to the Pentecost, they so understood the term? The Jews had a dispute about purifying, and they might have called it baptism, but if they did, they referred not to the sanctification of the mind, but to the ablution of the body. As to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, attributed by John to the Saviour, it is not probable the apostles as yet understood the meaning of John's declaration.

4th. To purify into the name of a person is an unusual and unauthorised sense of the words, and therefore inad-

missible, if the usual and authorised sense is not excluded by the context. The words are rendered, purifying them for the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The word name, we are told, only denotes the person, and therefore may be omitted in translating; but this is not the dispute, for about this there can be no doubt at all. The question is, in the passages in which the sense of the phrase, baptize into the name, or if it be so preferred, into the person, can be ascertained, does it mean an ablution of the body, or a purification of the mind? "All were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea." "Were ye baptized into the name of Paul? I thank God that I baptized none of you except Crispus and Gaius; lest any one should say that I baptized into my own name." The twelve men at Ephesus, on hearing him, were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. On the Samaritans, the Holy Ghost had not yet fallen, only they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. In these instances it is indisputable, that water was in some way employed; but there is no authority whatever for interpreting "to baptize into the name" of a person, or into a person, as though it denoted only to purify the mind for the person. The dispute therefore, is between a well-authorised and an unauthorised sense of the phrase; and it is very little to the purpose to show upon an analysis of the passage, that the words taken singly and separately, when they ought to be taken collectively, may be as appropriate to one interpretation as to the other.

5th. The command, to purify all nations, interpreted in accordance with the general style of Holy Scripture, must be understood ceremonially. God purifies the heart, or men may be said to purify themselves by the truth, but they are not commanded to purify, to sanctify, to save others. The charge, "Disciple all nations, purifying them," is equivalent to a direct command to purify all nations, which is certainly not the usual style of Scripture



unless it be understood, as we understand it, in a ceremonial sense.

6th. The objection to the common interpretation, as it is often propounded, is the supposed incongruity between the general commission, Disciple all nations, and the mention of a specific precept, to baptize, when the converts were to be taught to observe all things whatsoever Christ commanded. But this supposed incongruity is in accordance with the common phraseology of the New Testament, and therefore becomes an argument in favour of the literal interpretation. "Then Peter said unto them, Repent and be baptized, every one of you; then they that received the word were baptized." It may be here asked, Why should Peter add to the general charge, Repent, the reference to only one specific duty? That he did so, whatever might have been his reason, is sufficient for our purpose. Baptism, as the sign of discipleship, was, in the first instance, enjoined upon every proselyte. As, therefore, Peter charged his hearers, connecting the general and the specific, "Repent, and be baptized," meaning with water; so our Lord charged his apostles, "Disciple all nations, baptizing them," meaning with water.

Let me not, however, be here misunderstood. I do not say the commission is, Baptize into water, because it is plainly, Baptize into the name, and there is not a word about water in the text. From this passage alone, we could not prove that water was ever used in baptism. All I maintain is that, in baptizing into the name of a person, or into a person, baptizing into the name of the Trinity, or baptizing into the name of Christ, or into Christ, or into Moses, or into any one else, water was always understood to be employed as the sign of that baptism. I shall hereafter have occasion to notice that, in the language of the New Testament, proselytes are baptized into Christ by water, and not into water by Christ.

Respecting the observance of this commission by the

apostles, although they generally entrusted the administration of baptism to evangelists and other assistants, yet from several intimations in their epistles, we may safely conclude that not a single convert was unbaptized, so far as their authority extended; and from the subsequent history we may infer that the commission was understood as not confined to the apostles.

Although Quakers speak with marvellous complacency of the great apostle of the Gentiles being sent, not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, yet even St. Paul sometimes baptized; if seldom in Corinth, yet occasionally elsewhere. The Corinthian converts were unquestionably baptized, and many of them, we have no reason to doubt, by the assistants of Paul, and under his direction. The remark, therefore, which we made upon the conduct of our Lord, in not baptizing, will equally apply to the practice of St. Paul. His commission was not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel, and, therefore, he generally left the baptism of the converts to others; yet its administration was sanctioned both by his practice and his authority.

In reply to the argument derived from the apostolic practice, it is said that baptism was a concession to Jewish prejudices; and as it is admitted, at least by some Quakers, that the Lord's supper was solemnized in the primitive churches, the same reply is offered to this apostolic precedent. As both baptism and the Lord's supper were founded upon the usages of the Jews, it is said, they were allowed, in the infancy of the church, to conciliate the Hebrew converts. Barclay intimates that the apostles themselves were slow in casting off their Jewish prejudices, although he trusts chiefly to the notion that the two ceremonies of the apostolic age were allowed by the apostles in condescension to the weakness of Jewish believers. But let us hear their own language: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy

Ghost." "For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come. Therefore whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."

Is it to be supposed that the apostles would employ language so solemn and impressive, if they were speaking of unmeaning ceremonies, tolerated, but not approved, from regard to the weakness of the Jews? Were these the instructions to lead them from carnal elements to the more excellent way? Would one of "the Friends" now repeat them in addressing a pious person of another community, whose prejudices might be as unyielding, or infirmities as pitiable, as were those of the Jews? Was this the style of address with which Fox and his friends extinguished their candles in the churches? But we maintain that the notion of a concession to Jewish prejudice is wholly gratuitous, or rather absolutely false. What prejudice had the Jew, which would not be *offended* rather than *conciliated* by either of these sacramental services? That both baptism and the Lord's supper were founded upon Jewish practices, we readily admit. Our Lord adopted the rites of the Jews, and what is remarkable, rites unauthorised by the law of Moses, and consecrated them to be the symbolic services of his church; yet in their new form they must have been directly opposed to every Jewish prejudice. Whether we refer baptism to the divers washings of the Jews observed in accordance with the Mosaic law, or to the baptism of proselytes prevailing in the time of our Lord, the Christian rite must have been opposed to the prevalent opinions and feelings of the Jewish nation. If it were represented as a purification from legal pollution, would it have conciliated a Jew to require, indiscriminately

from all, clean or unclean, and specifically from himself, a legal purification, when he knew that he had contracted no legal pollution? Why was the scrupulous Pharisee, proud in his legal righteousness, moving with ever-wakeful scrupulosity to preserve his long robes and broad phylacteries from every stain, to be thus treated, as if he had been living like a heathen man and a publican? He had observed most rigidly, not only the baptisms of the law, but the ablutions of the scribes; he had purified himself from the touch of the dead, and had washed when he came from the market; he was perfectly clean according to the law of Moses, and equally so according to the traditions of the elders; why should he submit to a new cleansing, as if he were a common and profane man? His baptism, whatever might have been the reason of it, was surely a preposterous mode of conciliating his prejudice.

Mr. Gurney, however, relies especially upon the proselyte baptism of the Jews, as the origin of their prejudice in favour of such a rite of initiation, believing that every Gentile was, in the time of our Lord, baptized with his household, on his becoming a convert to Judaism. If the apostles had baptized only Gentiles, there might have been some plausibility in his opinion, but the baptism of a Jew was, in effect, saying to him, You are becoming a proselyte to a new religion, from which you, with the Gentile, have been equally estranged. You must wash away your uncleanness, as if you had been a polluted Samaritan, or a Syro-Phœnician dog. The faith of Abraham, the law of Moses, and the institutions of your elders, have not availed to prevent you from appearing in the character, and submitting to the rites of a proselyte. Though a master in Israel, you must, like a Gentile, be born again of water as well as of the Spirit, or you cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. So far from being conciliated, the prejudice and wounded pride of the Pharisee would naturally dictate the reply of Nicodemus, How can these things be?

Respecting the Lord's supper, similar remarks, with at least equal force and propriety, may be made. The ritual of the supper is evidently derived from the usages of the Jews in celebrating the passover. "Not the poorest in Israel might eat of it, till he was seated," says the Talmud.\* Jesus sat down with the twelve. The officiating minister or president of the feast broke a cake of unleavened bread, and gave thanks to God, who bringeth bread out of the earth.† Among the several cups of wine used on the occasion, there was one called the cup of blessing, or thanksgiving, over which they gave thanks, and sang the Hallel, or sacred psalms.‡ These usages Jesus consecrated as the memorial of his own propitiatory death. But on this very account, the celebration of the Lord's supper, except on the day of the paschal feast, would have shocked the religious feelings of the Jews. The rites of the passover were appropriate to the fourteenth day of the first month, the anniversary of the original institution. Their observance on any other day, unless, in an emergency, on the fourteenth day of the second month, especially their weekly observance, and their observance without the other parts of the paschal service, must have appeared unauthorised and profane to the eyes of such as looked with veneration on the institutes of Moses, or the traditions of the elders.

Can we then suppose that this service was conceded by the apostles to Jewish prejudice? What law of the nation, what tradition of the elders, what gloss of the scribes, could possibly require a weekly paschal feast without a paschal lamb? A supper to conciliate the Jews would have been something like that which the Judaising Christians, the temporisers of a spirit very unlike that of Jesus or of Paul, afterwards observed; for we are told by Epiphanius,§ that the Ebionites of his time celebrated the eucharist once a

\* See Lightfoot, "The Temple Service," &c.

† Maimonides, see Lightfoot, *supra*.

‡ Gloss on Maimonides, *supra*.

§ *Contra Hæres*, xxx. 16.



year with unleavened bread. Julian, the apostate, knew the opinions of the early Christians better; for he represents them as saying, "We cannot keep the feast of unleavened bread, for Christ is sacrificed for us."\* That the apostle Paul regarded the Lord's supper as a perpetual ordinance in the church of Christ, may be inferred from his own words: "As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death until he come." The Lord's supper was to be observed until the coming of Christ. What say "the Friends?" What says Joseph John Gurney? "The words, till he come, were probably added as *a kind of reservation*, for the purpose of conveying the idea, that when the Lord himself should come, such a memorial of his death would be obsolete and unnecessary." A kind of reservation indeed! an inuendo to intimate that the supper would become obsolete before the coming of the Lord! The reservation, however, seems to have grown out of a mistake; for he adds, "The apostle Paul lived under a strong impression that the coming of Christ in glory was near at hand."† On these words, from such a man, I choose to say nothing. A recent writer‡ against the perpetuity of the eucharist, contends that the words, "ye do show forth the Lord's death until he come," denote not the permanence of the act of showing forth, but the permanent character of his death in a figurative sense. In that age, as he thinks, they showed forth the Lord's death, as being a death until he come again—emblematically in his absence as if he were dead, like the priest within the veil with blood, until he come the second time without sin unto salvation. This, if I understand it, is to show forth Christ as if he were still dead, while the great truth of Scripture is that he is alive again, and liveth for ever, the Conqueror of death, the Author of eternal life. Because he could not be holden by the bands of death, the heavens

\* Cyril contra Julian. l. x.

+ Gurney, p. 123.

‡ The Eucharist not an Ordinance of the Christian Church.

have received him. A schoolboy has only to turn to his Greek Testament, and construe in literal order, "the death of the Lord ye do show forth until he come," to confute this new version of St. Paul.

There is, however, another view of the Lord's supper prevalent among the society of Friends. "Our Lord's injunction on that occasion," says Mr. Gurney,\* "may be understood as intended to give a religious direction to the more common social repasts of his disciples." This opinion seems to receive some countenance from Bishop Kaye, who, speaking of the Lord's supper, says, "The first converts appear daily, after their principal meal, to have taken bread and drunk wine in commemoration of the death of their Saviour."† For this practice of making the Lord's supper a mere appendage of an ordinary meal, there is no authority whatsoever, as I believe, either in the apostolical or in the succeeding ages. The brethren *came together* to break bread—the hungry were *to eat at home*, for they had houses to eat and drink in—to eat the Lord's supper, they were *to tarry for one another*, and *to come together into one place*. And if we refer to ecclesiastical antiquity, we find that the eucharist, whenever it is mentioned, was a religious service distinct from the ordinary meals, according to Ignatius,‡ administered by the bishop, according to Justin Martyr,§ not common bread and common drink, but that of which no one may partake who does not believe what we teach, and has not been washed for regeneration and remission, and does not live as Christ has enjoined; according to Tertullian|| and subsequent writers, observed before daylight from the hands of the rulers of the church, and as a great mystery. We do not believe that any authority whatsoever can be cited in favour of the opinion that the eucharist was only thanksgiving at

\* Observations, &c. p. 126.

+ Account of Justin Martyr, p. 91.

† Ad Smyr. c. viii.

§ Apol. i. 66.

|| De Coronâ, c. iii.

the ordinary meal; and we regret that so eminent a scholar as the Bishop of Lincoln should, without adducing his authority, have given the appearance of his sanction to this opinion.

Writers who assert that the eucharist was only a devout recognition of Christ observed by the Jewish converts, as they attended to the usages of their country, do not, so far as I can find, state precisely whether they mean the usages which refer to the bread and wine of the paschal supper, or to the ordinary bread and wine of their social feasts. Both in the passover and their social feasts, customs prevailed nearly resembling the rites of the Lord's supper. Such writers in effect say, the service called the Lord's supper was only a devout mention of Christ in the Jewish ceremony of breaking bread and blessing wine. We ask, do they mean the ceremonies of the paschal service? for they sometimes speak as if they did. If they do, how could the Jewish converts observe them every week? Or do they mean the ceremonies of their ordinary festivals? If they do, how should the Jewish converts have applied to an ordinary festival the injunction of our Lord given at the paschal service, to which, and not to the social feast, to unleavened, and not common bread, he must have referred, if, as they assert, in breaking the paschal bread and blessing the paschal wine, he did not institute a new service? They in effect say, Whether the usages of the passover, or those of the ordinary meals, were employed as the memorials of Christ, we do not know; but we are sure they were either the one or the other, and you may choose which you please. To both theories there are insuperable objections, and the duplex style of reasoning adopted is a virtual confession that the parties are not prepared to maintain, on the one hand, that the true exposition of our Lord's words is, Whenever ye keep the passover, do it in remembrance of me; or, on the other, Whenever ye drink a social glass of wine, think of me. I am very curious to know how

they can, with so much confidence, assert that the one part or the other of this alternative must be true, without being able to say which it is. As, however, they do not know which to choose, and will not confine themselves to either, and therefore can be certain of neither, our reply to both hypotheses is in words which need no exposition: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils." "Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." "But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup; for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself, not discerning the Lord's body." Does all this mean, as a recent writer intimates, nothing more than, *say grace before meat*? Besides, in the Corinthian church, as undoubtedly everywhere else, the Gentile converts, who knew nothing about breaking bread or blessing wine, were to associate with the Jews; for they are exhorted to tarry one for another, so that the whole church might assemble for a devout and reverential remembrance of Christ. Our conclusion is, that as the apostles, inspired by the Spirit of God, observed the two sacraments, after the example of their Divine Master, not as concessions to Jewish prejudice, without any intimation whatsoever that they were designed for a temporary purpose, and with a clear specific directory for Gentiles as well as for Jews, Christians in all ages are under the obligation of observing them also.

Before we enter upon the consideration of each sacrament separately, a few remarks upon the design of these ceremonial observances may be requisite. If they are of permanent obligation, we naturally conclude that some

important purpose is to be accomplished by their institution.

The doctrine of the Church of Rome is, that the sacraments by their due administration, the *opus operatum*, confer grace upon all who receive them, unless they are resisted by mortal sin. The Council of Trent, in the eighth canon of its seventh session, declared, "If any one say that from the sacraments of the New Testament grace is not conferred by the act performed, but that the faith alone of the Divine assurance is sufficient to obtain the grace, let him be anathema."\* Catholic divines distinguish the *opus operatum* from the *opus operantis*. The former denotes the due performance of the sacrament, the latter the due reception of it; the former is the act of the priest, the latter of the person receiving. By the former, not by the latter—through the power of the priest, not through the piety of the person—the grace is conferred.

The doctrine of the Church of England, as well as of the Lutheran churches, is that the sacraments are means of communicating grace; as baptism imparts the grace of regeneration; the Lord's supper, the grace of a spiritual participation of Christ. This doctrine is maintained in two distinct modes, by two different parties in the English church. One party asserts that grace is inseparable from the due administration of the sacrament, and invariably communicated by it, unless it be resisted by an unworthy reception; the other, that grace is not inseparable from the sacrament, but frequently or occasionally imparted by it, as by one of several means designed for the conversion and salvation of men.†

\* Si quis dixerit, per ipsa Novæ Legis Sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam sed solam Fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere: anathema sit. Concil. Trident. Sess. vii. Can. 8.

† Headly, and some others, both latitudinarian and evangelical, have maintained that the sacraments are only symbols of truth, modes of commemorating and of teaching it; but this opinion, however reasonable, is so opposed to the offices and catechism, that we cannot, in any sense, call it the doctrine of the Church of England.



The doctrine, as we have seen, of the Puritans, the Scotch Presbyterians, and many foreign Protestants of the Calvinistic churches, is that the sacraments are federal rites, ratifications of the evangelical covenant, made to those who profess to receive it, upon the supposition that their profession is sincere, and so insuring to them all the blessings which are promised to believers. It would seem to follow that the adherents of the latter opinion ought to administer the sacraments, or seals, only to those who have previously received the grace which they attest; whereas the adherents of the former ought to administer them only to such as are destitute of that grace. If baptism, for instance, be the seal\* of regeneration, it should be administered only to the regenerate; if the means of regeneration, only to the unregenerate. The opinion which we propose is, that the sacraments are significant rites—emblems of Divine truth—sacred signs of the evangelical doctrine—designed to illustrate, to enforce, or to commemorate the great and most important truths of the Gospel. Baptism, we believe, is the sign of purification by the truth of Christ, but neither the cause nor the seal of it: the Lord's supper, the commemoration of the death of Christ, the symbol of its propitiatory character, but not the assurance of our personal interest in its saving benefits. The truth exhibited in the sacraments, just as when it is propounded in words, may be the means of the communication of Divine grace; but then the evangelical doctrine, and not the sacrament, the truth, and not the symbol, the spirit, and not the letter, gives life and sanctity to the recipient, as it may even to a spectator.

\* Baptism is often by the Fathers called a seal, and the ancient liturgies generally use the term. Sometimes it is especially and specifically applied to the signing of the cross in baptism, and sometimes to the anointing after baptism. Dr. Pusey thinks we may infer from the early use of this sign, it was instituted by the apostles; but as we know from Tertullian the ancient Christians were accustomed to make the sign of the cross on all occasions, they would naturally do so in the service of baptism.—Tert. De Coronâ, c. iii.

A few words on this subject will be here sufficient, as we must recur to it in considering the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. What we have at present to say upon the design of the sacraments may be comprised under two remarks. 1st. The ceremonial institutes of preceding dispensations, the sacraments of the patriarchal and Jewish church, corresponded only with the view which we take of the Christian sacraments, as sacred signs of Divine truth. 2nd. The sacraments considered as the causes, or the means, or even the seals, of converting or regenerating grace, stand opposed to the great Protestant doctrine of justification by faith without works.

1. The ceremonial institutes of preceding dispensations correspond only with the view which we have taken of the Christian sacraments, as sacred signs of Divine truth. One passage of St. Paul will establish this proposition. "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew which is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God."\* According to this passage, circumcision was not the cause, nor the means, nor the attestation of the circumcision of the heart; for if it produced, or even ratified in any manner, the internal change, the affirmation of the apostle could not be sustained. Nor would it relieve the objection to say, as some would do, that they do not maintain the invariable connexion of the outward sacrament with the inward change, for the apostle is evidently speaking of a general truth, and not stating an exception to the rule. He does not say, he is not *invariably* a Jew who is one outwardly, as though he were speaking of a law which admitted of some exceptions; but his argument implies that there is no personal connexion between the two; no connexion, I mean, in the person who possesses the external rite.

\* Romans ii. 28, 29.

Circumcision is a sign of purity, but not a seal or attestation of the purity of the individual. That so we are to understand the apostle, is evident from the succeeding verses: "What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit of circumcision? Much every way, but chiefly because unto them were committed the oracles of God." But if a change of heart, a spiritual and saving grace imparted or attested, were, I say not *invariably*, but even *usually*, the advantage of circumcision, would not the apostle have specified this greatest blessing which can be acquired on earth? Would he have preferred to it the possession of even the oracles of truth? To say that the sacrament might be resisted by sin is nothing to the purpose, for assuredly the Holy Scriptures might be neglected or abused. Besides, the grace of circumcision administered in infancy, as it was among the Jews, could not have been resisted by an unworthy reception; and if it were the means of regeneration, whether variably or invariably, some or all of the Jews would have been regenerated. But why should we make exceptions where the law of circumcision made no distinction? Every male child was to be circumcised, or to be cut off from among the people; and therefore, on suffering the rite, it would receive all its benefits, whatever they were; but among them the apostle forbids us to reckon the purification of the heart. We therefore infer that this ancient rite was not the cause, nor the means, nor the seal, of the grace intended, but only the sign or emblem of it. What the apostle here says of circumcision, he evidently intended to apply to the whole external ritual of the Jews. He who was circumcised was bound to observe the whole ceremonial law, as a part of it would profit him nothing; and of the whole law it is said, "he is not a Jew that is one outwardly." In accordance with the doctrine of the apostle may be cited numerous declarations of the prophets, which teach us that circumcision insured neither sanctity of

heart, nor reconciliation with God; and that the rites and ceremonies of Judaism were of no avail in the place of doing justly, loving mercy, and walking humbly with the Lord. "Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will punish all them that are circumcised with the uncircumcised, Egypt, and Judah, and Edom, and the children of Ammon, and Moab, and all that are in the utmost corners, that dwell in the wilderness: for all these nations are uncircumcised, and all the house of Israel are uncircumcised in the heart."\* Without adducing similar passages, as we must recur to this subject in subsequent lectures, it appears that no moral or spiritual change was effected or attested by the religious ceremonies of the Old Testament. As, however, the people who lived under that dispensation needed conversion, regeneration, washing from sin, or whatever may be the spiritual blessings supposed to be communicated by the Christian sacraments, our inference is that the patriarchs, the prophets, and all the pious of former ages, received those blessings through some other medium than that of the sacraments of the church to which they belonged. We therefore naturally conclude, unless the New Testament expressly teach another doctrine, that neither do the pious of the Christian dispensation receive their moral and spiritual blessings, the grace of sanctity and pardon, through the sacraments of the church to which they belong. In the language of Augustine, "We hence infer that the invisible sanctification was present and profitable to some without the visible sacraments, which, according to the diversity of the times, have been changed, so that they are now different in the form from what they have been."† We believe, with the good bishop of Hippo, that the sacraments have

\* Jeremiah ix. 25, 26.

† *Proinde colligitur: invisibilem sanctificationem quibusdam affuisse atque profuisse sine visibilibus sacramentis; quæ pro temporum diversitate mutata sunt, ut alia tunc fuerint et alia modo sint.* August. *Quæst. super. Levit. lib. iii. quæst. 84.*

been changed in form, while they remain substantially the same; that in all ages they have been emblematical services, symbols of Divine truth. Circumcision, we believe, with Justin Martyr, was the type of the true circumcision, by which we are circumcised from error and evil.\*

Those who maintain that circumcision was a personal seal, as well as a type of spiritual blessings, will probably adduce the words of the apostle respecting Abraham, "he received the sign of circumcision, the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had, yet being uncircumcised."† Astonishing are the piles of argumentation which have been raised upon this passage, and by which, I venture to say, my pædobaptist brethren have encumbered, rather than sustained their cause. Circumcision was a sign of the Abrahamic covenant, (and if that be all that is meant by a seal,) it was a seal, not to the circumcised only, but to all the world. It was a perpetual memorial of God's covenant with the seed of Abraham, or it may to them be considered the seal of the external relation to God of the descendants of Abraham, but it was the seal or attestation of the righteousness of faith, or of justification by faith, to none save to Abraham himself. He only of them all had the righteousness being yet uncircumcised. God gave testimony to his righteousness, manifestly approved his faith, by making with him the covenant of circumcision, and in some sense placing him at its head. But was it, in this sense, a seal of the righteousness which they had, an approval of their faith, to the men of his clan, or to Ishmael, or to the infants of his household, or to any of his posterity in subsequent ages? The argument of the apostle is founded upon the fact that he was not circumcised when

\* Ἡ δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς περιτομῆς, κελεύουσα τῇ ὁγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνειν τὰ γενέμενα, τίπotes ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς, ἣν περιετμήθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας. Justin. Mart. Dial. cum Tryp. Oper. p. 260, C.

† Rom. iv. 11.



he acquired the righteousness of faith, "to the end he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised; for the promise that he should be the heir of the world was not to Abraham or to his seed through the law, but through the righteousness of faith." Had Abraham been at that time circumcised, the force of the apostle's argument would have failed. "How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? Not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision." Neither his faith nor his righteousness was produced by his circumcision; and although to him circumcision was the seal of faith, it could not have been so to his posterity.\* Our conclusion remains undisturbed, that the ceremonial ordinances of the dispensations previous to the Gospel, were only signs or emblems of Divine truth.

2. We observe that the sacraments, if they are considered as the causes, or the means, or even the personal seals of spiritual and saving grace, would be opposed to the great Protestant doctrine of justification by faith without works. Of this objection, probably, many of our opponents would make little account. I do not therefore adduce it as an argument against Romanists or Tractarians, but as a consideration which should induce those who glory in the Protestant doctrine as the true Gospel of Christ, to watch with much jealousy every attempt to ascribe undue importance to the sacraments.

As to the popish doctrine of the *opus operatum*, the impartation of grace by the due performance of the rite, independent of the *opus operantis*, the proper dispositions

\* Cardinal Bellarmine (de Sacram. l. i. c. 17), noticing the passage, "and he received the seal of circumcision, the sign of the righteousness of faith," observes, that circumcision was a *seal* to Abraham only, but a *sign* to other Jews. It was, to the father of the faithful, a testimony of his faith—to his descendants a sign or memorial of it. On the nature of circumcision we are much more disposed to adopt the language of the Roman and Anglo-Catholics, than that of the Puritans and Presbyterians. A seal of justification cannot, but a sign of it may, be given to an infant.

of the recipient, this is opposed not only to justification by faith, but apparently to the merit of good works, that favourite and popular doctrine of the Romish church. Grace, according to her creed, is conferred, the grace of regeneration, of confirmation, of absolution, of the body and blood of Christ, and of the anointing of the Holy Ghost, not on account of faith in Christ, nor yet on account of the good works of the recipient, but, unless mortal sin prevent, by the power of the priest, as a successor of the apostles, duly and properly performing the prescribed ritual. The priest, by the sacraments, regenerates, absolves, justifies, and saves the sinner. I need not say how opposed are these fearful assumptions of power to the doctrine of justification as propounded in the New Testament.

Nor is the doctrine of the Church of England, that the sacraments are the means of communicating grace, whether invariably according to the Tractarians, or variably according to the evangelicals, reconcilable with clear and distinct views of the Protestant belief in justification by faith alone. Baptismal regeneration, however explained, makes our salvation dependent upon a ritual; but the message of the Gospel is, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." Whether regeneration is inseparably or occasionally connected with baptism, is not the important question; that question is, whether persons are to be taught to expect any spiritual change in the observance of a religious rite, or to regard the performance of that rite as any evidence whatever of such a change having been effected. Thanks are offered to God that the baptized child is regenerate, which words some explain literally, and others in the judgment of charity; but both parties consider that God either invariably or occasionally converts the child by the administration of water. Some divines tell us, that the good effects of the grace imparted are suspended until the person believes in Christ; but we reply, if the doctrine of justification by faith be true, the party

concerned, as soon as he believes on Christ, obtains all those good effects, although he has never been baptized, as without faith, however he may have been baptized, he never can obtain them. According to the doctrine of the Gospel, the message to be addressed to the sinner is, Believe on Christ, simply believe on Christ, immediately believe on Christ, confidently believe on Christ, as the only and all-sufficient Saviour. When the evangelist announces this welcome, blessed intelligence to a sinner, trembling in the sight of the flames of Sinai, and exhibits Christ Jesus evidently set forth crucified for him, a propitiation for his sins, a Lamb as it had been slain, pleading in the middle space between the throne and the church for the souls of the dying; is a priest at that moment in full canonicals, with his apostolic succession, to interpose and perform his ceremonial, as it were covering the altar and bleeding sacrifice with the embroidered drapery of sacramental emblems, that the penitent may receive from the hand of a man of like passions with himself, either his absolution or its ratification, as though the work of Christ were incomplete without such a supplemental formulary? If the sinner believe in Christ, or believe the evangelical message, that Christ Jesus is the only Saviour, who died for his sins, and lives again for his justification, *he is* regenerate and justified; but if he do not so believe in Christ, he can be neither regenerate nor justified. The man is not at this point to be taught to look to the charm of a sacrament; he is not to be told that he will certainly believe, or will be more likely to believe, or believing will be regenerate, if he be baptized, baptism being the invariable or the usual means of regeneration. Such a direction is felt to be inconsistent with the simple declaration of the Gospel; yet such a direction is the natural and proper consequence of regeneration by baptism, in whatever manner it be explained. If a person receives the sacrament with faith, without which it is impossible to please God, he is already

a believer, and therefore regenerate; he believes in the mystery of baptism, the truth set forth in the sign. If he does not believe, he does not receive the sacrament worthily, and therefore he is not regenerated by the observance of the means. For spiritual blessings a man must look not to the sacraments, but to the cross; and instantly before his believing eye Christ Jesus is made of God unto him, wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption.

Although not so glaringly, yet covertly and perniciously, the notion of the sacraments as seals of grace, in the sense of personal attestations, is opposed to the doctrine of justification by faith. If they are represented as seals or ratifications of saving blessings conferred upon the recipients, we have to inquire, In what sense is this representation to be understood? They are assuredly not seals of spiritual blessings to those who do not spiritually receive them—not seals of deceit and delusion to unregenerate men. It must, therefore, be intended that the worthy observance of the sacrament, the observing of it with spiritual dispositions, is the oblation of grace. And what is this but making the worthy reception, the good work of the man, the seal and assurance of eternal life, so that, instead of looking entirely and exclusively to Christ Jesus, to his spotless obedience and atoning sacrifice, he is looking upon himself amidst the deceitfulness of his own heart, for seals and verifications of his own justification? The more simply and directly he fixes his attention upon the work of Christ, the more justly assured he becomes of his title to everlasting life. A sacrament *in itself* is no seal of pardon or salvation, because it may be unworthily received. To call the worthy reception of it the seal of pardon or of salvation, is to exalt a good work to the high place of the witness of Christ's fidelity, or of his sufficiency, in saving believers, and so to reverence it not only as the arbiter of our own justification, but as the authentic verifier of the

truth of Christ. Invited, every day and every hour of my life, to confide entirely on Christ, as able and willing to save me, what have I to do but to accept the generous invitation in the full assurance of faith? Burdened with a sense of guilt, the message of the Gospel is to me the good news of great joy; and in the assurance of the truth of God, which I cordially believe, I can admit no seals or verifications other than his own testimony. A sacrament offers no assurance, no word of encouragement to me in my unbelief; and in my belief the verbal and express assurance of God is the object of my faith; and that assurance is that in Christ Jesus, my only Saviour, I have everlasting life. "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in his Son." That record believed is its own demonstration, and no symbolic service can be either an attestation of its general truth, or a seal of its specific application to individuals. "He that believeth hath the witness in himself." Besides, this doctrine of sealing God's grace to individuals by a sacrament can amount to no more than a hypothetical sealing—a sealing of God's grace upon the supposition that the person is already possessed of that grace; a seal which, to be of any worth, must be itself accredited or attested by the grace which yet it is said to seal or ratify. But what seals are these? The sacraments worthily received are said to be seals of an inward and spiritual grace, or of spiritual blessings consequent upon it; but that inward and spiritual grace is to us the only assurance of the worthy reception of the sacraments. The outward sign seals the inward grace, and the inward grace attests the outward sign. To this *reductio ad absurdum* may be brought the notion that the sacraments are seals of the favour of God to those who worthily receive them. The proper assurance, the great seal of the love of God to sinners, which every sinner may specifically apply to himself, is the gift of God's own Son, whom he hath given for the life of the world, and to this



no other assurances—no minor seals—can add any confirmation. To introduce their aid is to cloud and obscure the only Object of faith in the justification of the ungodly.

So far, however, as we may look to ourselves, it is quite as easy to ascertain our personal interest in the Gospel, as it is to ascertain our worthy reception of the sacraments. The faith which receives the Gospel is its own witness; its own fruits are its proper attestation; its spirit of confidence and adoption, by which we cry, “Abba, Father!” is the genuine seal of the Spirit, the Spirit bearing witness with our spirits that we are born of God; and he who has that blessed obsignation has no need of a sacramental seal, the attestation which has no glory by reason of the glory that excelleth.

It may, however, be said the sacraments are the seals which we append to the covenant, the federal rites by which we attest our reception of it. We reply, that faith itself is the reception of the covenant, to which every believer, as such, is a party. To believe is to set to our seal that God is true. It is to perform our part of the covenant, to make the stipulation which it proposes. Immediately on our belief the covenant is sealed and certain, without the possibility of a failure. If the covenant remain unsealed until a sacrament be performed, we are justified, or our justification is completed, by that sacrament, and not by faith alone. Besides, in the sacrament, before whom do we seal or attest our previous reception of the covenant? Before *God*, who has witnessed the act of faith itself, and can need no attestation of the deed, or before *men*, who cannot know the sincerity of the act, which we call the seal or federal rite? If, however, by this seal is meant nothing more than the sign or emblem of our receiving the covenant by faith, on that supposition the sacraments are only symbolic observances, as we believe them to be, although not of our acts of faith, but of the purifying and life-giving blessings of the Gospel.

Many will think that we depreciate the sacraments by representing them as only signs, which have no Divine energy in quickening and sustaining the spiritual life. We do not, indeed, ascribe to them the power of God in quickening the dead. They are to us the earthly signs of heavenly things; and can anything on earth, any deed that man can do, occupy a more important or exalted position? The symbolic representatives of Divine truth, performed by God's command before the church and the world, they are hallowed by their intimate and indissoluble association with the most sacred and Divine realities. They are earthly vestments, which the majesty of Christian truth has assumed on her descent to our world, through which the celestial radiance is clearly emitted, so long as they are not tinged with the gaudy colours of human device. Depreciate the sacraments! We place them by the side of the Holy Scriptures, associate them with the same great imperishable truths, and say, if those speak to the ear of man, these appeal to his sight; if those are more distinct, these are more expressive; while both are equally the messengers from God. It is true our elements are earthly, and in themselves common; we have only water which has issued from an earthly spring, we have only bread grown from an earthly soil, and wine pressed from an earthly vintage; but these earthly things are hallowed by the glorious truths with which they are associated. And what more are the elements of Holy Scripture itself? Has it a sacred alphabet brought down from heaven by the angels of God, and a Divine language of the seraphic choirs with no formula of earthly inflexions? What are all its sounds but the breath of mortal lungs, and all its words but earthly as the parchment on which they fade; the rugged dialect of Hebrew shepherds, or the more polished, graceful, and melodious phraseology of Greece? As these earthly sounds are hallowed when they become the voice of Divine truth, so, but in no other mode, the

earthly water and bread and wine are hallowed when they become the accredited signals which Christ in heaven makes to the children of men. The bow on the dark cloud was but solar light reflected on common rain; yet to the eye of Noah, previously trembling at every passing shower, lest it prove the commencement of a second deluge, it was the sacrament of a glorious and immutable promise. As was that coloured arch to Noah, so to us are baptism and the Lord's supper, hallowed by their association with the holy promises of God. When an earthly language, like that of Scripture, or earthly elements, like those of the sacraments, are employed as signs of heavenly truth, the connexion consecrates the earthly without desecrating the heavenly. Or, to adduce another illustration, that holy and reverend Name, at which the Jewish scribe raises his pen from his scroll, and utters a prayer, devoutly composing his spirit before he ventures to write it, and which no Christian pronounces without serious thought,—that Name itself of which God is jealous, is only a compound of earthly elements; its four letters mingle with baser words, and form the inflexions of ordinary grammar; yet is it holy as the appointed sign of the eternal God. As those letters, common in their resolution, are hallowed in their combination, as the representative of God, visible in earthly manuscript, audible in earthly speech; so is the supper the hallowed representation of Christ in the church; for the bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? and the cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? And even that precious body of Christ was but human flesh, which he took from his mother; and that precious blood, which cleanseth from all sin, was compounded of earthly materials by the powers of an earthly organization like our own; yet both are hallowed in our estimation by their mysterious union with the Divinity: so by a

devout observance we hallow these earthly elements, not on account of any sanctity or value which they have in themselves, but on account of the sanctity and value of the Divine truth, of which they are before our eyes the significant and authorised representatives.

## LECTURE III.

### ON JEWISH BAPTISM.

“And they asked him, and said unto him, Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not that Christ, nor Elias, neither that prophet?”—*John* i. 25.

“Alia enim fuit Judæorum sub Apostolis ratio; alia est Gentilium conditio. Illi quia jam legis et Moysis antiquissimum baptisma fuerant adepti, in nomine quoque Jesu Christi erant baptizandi.”

*Cyprian, Ep. 73, ad Jubaianum.*

It now becomes my duty, and no very pleasant one, to explain and defend the views which I hold of Christian baptism,—a subject fraught with long and wearisome controversies, and what is still more painful, controversies on those particulars on which we should have expected to find in the New Testament the most clear and distinct information. Assuming the truth of our conclusion in the last lecture, that baptism is an ordinance of perpetual obligation in the Christian Church, it does seem extraordinary that Christians, in the honest and diligent study of the New Testament, should be unable to discover who are to be baptized, or in what manner the rite should be performed. If those who deny the perpetuity of the ordinance can find in the tedious controversies of Pædobaptists and Anti-Pædobaptists an argument against both parties, and if they are disposed to say to us, Is it not strange that you, being on both sides honest and diligent, cannot determine the meaning of the commission which you say you have received, and which commission must of course become



obsolete or remain in abeyance, if it leave the parties in any doubt or hesitation about the manner of executing it? To them we can only reply, You must take the objection for what it is worth. We sensibly feel its force; and we must admit that if no man, by honest and diligent inquiry, with all the aids which God has afforded, can ascertain who are to be baptized, there is good reason to suspect the argument in favour of the perpetuity of the ordinance. Believing, as I do, the validity of this argument, I cannot but think, that if both parties proceed in the inquiry, honestly, impartially, without prejudice, and without preference, until the conclusion be fairly reached, the truth may be ascertained. To which side the latent prejudice, which obstructs the force of evidence, may belong, it is not for me to assume, nor even to conjecture; I can only say, although these lectures must of necessity assume the form of controversy, this consideration makes me most anxious to weigh impartially the whole subject.

Whether I have been successful or not in pursuing the inquiry with an impartial and unbiassed mind, I do believe that if other and abler divines on both sides will divest themselves of prejudice, they may bring this dispute to a satisfactory determination. Instead of saying, so quietly and comfortably, as some good people do, Let us agree to differ, it would be more in accordance with our respect for the will and authority of Christ to say, Let us agree to find out the truth, adhering closely to Scripture, seeking all aid in its correct interpretation, assuming nothing without proof, and carefully endeavouring to detect the cause of the error, on whichever side it be, the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*, which, lurking in the breast of one party or the other, in this as in almost every controversy, vitiates all the subsequent reasoning, and, ever present in the dispute, colours with a false light the arguments adduced on each side of the question, concealing the weakness of some, and imputing a fictitious value to others. Let us reach, if it be possible, the

*are cause* of this unhappy dispute, and there it surely cannot be difficult for an unprejudiced mind to ascertain the truth. That central point of controversy respecting infant baptism, on which the whole depends, appears to be, so far as I can judge, whether faith be or be not the proper qualification for baptism. Vituperation and abuse in this controversy have probably done more than anything else to obscure the truth. Let every controversialist consider how far he is guilty of obstructing, by the acrimony of his words, the force of his own arguments.

There is also another controversy on baptism, at the present time of great importance, as upon its decision, more than upon anything else, depends the settlement of the momentous and agitating question of the day,—the doctrine of sacramental efficacy. Upon baptism we have more full and precise information than we have upon any other ritual observance; and if baptism be not regeneration, if it do not produce or imply any moral or spiritual change, the whole fabric of sacramental efficacy falls to the ground, and with it the authority of the priesthood and the mediation of the church; so that, having nothing left for our dependence, we must look immediately and exclusively to the grace of God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. This one point being decided, the whole dispute between Protestant and Catholic, in every form and aspect, Anglo-Catholic or Roman Catholic, vanishes as a mist from the region of theology. Of the importance of this controversy, it is not easy to offer an exaggerated statement.

Let us, therefore, with two important controversies before us, consider such information as we can collect on the subject of Christian baptism. The first question which naturally suggests itself, respects the origin of the rite; and as this question affects both the controversies, it demands our careful attention. The subject of Jewish baptism has been keenly controverted, and from the keenness

of the controversy we may infer the importance of its determination. It seems scarcely necessary to observe, that among the Jews, as indeed among all oriental nations, divers ablutions were performed, as symbols of purification from moral uncleanness and guilt.\* Some were prescribed by the Mosaic law, others were only traditions of the elders. The question of importance is, Was the baptism of proselytes practised by the Jews in the time of our Lord? and if it was, how far may the practice assist us in interpreting the commission to baptize all the nations? On opening the New Testament, it is scarcely possible to escape the impression that baptism must have been well known, as a religious rite among the Jews, previously to its administration by John the Baptist. If it were a ceremony absolutely unknown, having no sanction of the law and no authority of tradition, with nothing in its favour, either in the letter of Scripture or in the comments of the scribes, it does not seem probable that vast multitudes of all classes and parties would so readily and unscrupulously have hastened to receive it.

Both Pharisees and Sadducees resorted to the baptism of John. Is it likely these opposing sects, jealous of each other, suspicious of a neutral teacher, and moved by no common authority, would have concurred, as many of them did, in their reception of the novelty, and, differing in their principles of interpretation, as in every thing else, would have united in a service of which they had heard nothing from the venerated authorities of their respective schools? If it be said that they might have heard John assert his authority to baptize by virtue of a direct com-

\* I need not mention the symbolic ablutions of heathen nations. Tinguuntur, idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem perjuriorum suorum agere presumunt. Tert. de Bapt. c. v. The classical allusions are familiar to the school-boy, Eo lavatum, ut sacrificem. Plant. Aulul. 3. 6. 43. Constat diis superis sacra facturum corporis ablutione purgari. Macrobi. Sat. 3. 1.

Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis

Fluminea tolli posse putetis aqua!—Ovid. Fast. ii. 45, 46.

mission from God, we reply that the Pharisees imagined he baptized by virtue of an office which he sustained, and not of a direct command, for they said, "Why baptizest thou then, if thou be not the Christ, nor Elias, nor the prophet?" That the Jews did not consider baptism to be a ceremony peculiar to John, is evident from the terms of their inquiry. They must have thought that the Christ would baptize, that Elias would baptize, that the prophet would baptize. They wished to know by what authority John, who had disclaimed any such office as that of the Messiah or the prophet, assumed to baptize the Jewish people. He had no commission from the sanhedrim. If he were not Christ, nor Elias, nor the prophet, who was this baptist? Unless the Pharisees had some knowledge of a baptism previous to that which John administered, it seems impossible to understand their inquiry, "Why baptizest thou?" It was indeed the opinion of some of the Fathers, that John was the first who administered baptism. Hence, says Cyril of Jerusalem, "Baptism was the end of the old covenant and the beginning of the new, for John was its founder."\* If by this it is meant, that John was the first person who had an express commission from God to administer baptism, I am not able to disprove the assertion; but if it is meant that baptism, as a sign of discipleship, was not known until the ministry of John, such an hypothesis appears directly at variance with the evangelical history. Other Christian authorities, however, suppose that such baptism previously existed among the Jews. Gregory Nazianzen says, "John baptized, but no longer after the Jewish manner, for it was not only with water, but to repentance." Chrysostom says, "The baptism of John was far superior to the Jewish, but inferior to ours, for it was a kind of bridge of the baptisms, leading from that to this." Other authorities will be hereafter noticed. †

\* Cyril. Hier. Cat. 3, n. 6.

† Vid. Suicer. in verb. *Βαπτίζω*. Origen (Comm. in Johan.) attempts to

Both statements of the Fathers may be reconciled by supposing the meaning of Cyril to be, John was the founder of the baptism unto repentance.

That baptism had been previously observed among the Jews, may also be inferred from the conversation of our Lord with Nicodemus. That master in Israel expressed his surprise and incredulity, when Jesus told him that a man must be born of water and the Spirit, if he would enter into the kingdom of God. His ignorance in not understanding the meaning of our Lord was culpable, and scarcely to have been expected in a man of his station. "Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?" Without further instruction, a master in Israel, a teacher of the Pharisees, ought to have immediately understood the meaning of being born of water and of the Spirit. If there had been nothing in the learning of a rabbi, nothing in the opinions of the Pharisees, nothing in the usages of the people, to illustrate these expressions, our Lord would not have intimated that Nicodemus ought to have been acquainted with their meaning. Under ordinary circumstances, be it observed, these words, without any explanation, would have been quite unintelligible. To be born of water and the Spirit! No reply from a Gentile can be imagined more natural than that of Nicodemus, "Can a man enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?" Even now these words of our Lord are obscure and mysterious to many professed Christians, who read the evangelical comments of the apostles upon the sayings of their Master. How often are they ready to confute Heracleon, who maintained that Elias and the ancient prophets baptized. Heracleon was, indeed, a Valentinian, or a Marcossion, or some compound of those heretics; probably he was even one of that reprobate sect of Valentinians, who, as Irenæus tells us, instead of bringing the person to the water, poured water upon his head. As he is mentioned by Irenæus, his testimony is valuable, for, heretical pourer as he was, he seems, from the relics of his commentary, to have been a studious man; and is likely to have known more of the Jewish opinions in the time of our Lord, than those who lived two centuries after him. He lived about A.D. 126.



quire, What is it to be born from water ? Among Christians there is great difference of opinion as to the meaning of this very phrase ; but whether a disciple of Christ can explain the meaning of the expression or cannot, a master in Israel was reasonably expected to understand it. There was, it would seem, some prevalent usage of their nation to illustrate these words. Without at present citing the Jewish authorities, in support of the opinion that the rabbins, as early as the time of our Lord, called a change of religion a new birth, it is manifest, if such was their customary language, that a master in Israel, acquainted with the traditions and usages of the people, might have been expected to understand the words of our Lord, as implying, unless a man became a subject of a change of which baptism was the symbol, he could not be accredited as a disciple of Christ. But if baptism was not customary among the Jews, as an ordinance for proselytes, how could a master in Israel be expected to understand the declaration of our Lord ? There is nothing in the law of Moses, or in the rites prescribed by him, to explain it, nor is there a word in the Old Testament which would afford the faintest illustration of the phrase.

If it should be said that the baptisms mentioned in the gospels were the legal purifications with water, or the usual and frequent ablutions of the Pharisees, the divers baptisms of the Jews, we reply that such baptisms could not have been intended, because they were not appropriate to the occasions to which they are referred. Neither the daily ablutions nor the legal purifications could have been intended, when the messengers inquired of John why he baptized. These daily ablutions, in the opinion of those who proposed the inquiry, every Jew ought regularly to have observed ; and the legal purifications, as for leprosy or any other uncleanness, were to be performed by the unclean person himself ; he was to wash himself, or to wash his clothes, or to sprinkle himself with clean water. When-

ever an official person was required, the priest was appointed to superintend the purification. In this sense they would never have inquired of John, why he baptized, for as the son of Zacharias, of the house of Aaron, he might purify the unclean. Nor would they have referred such purifications of constant occurrence to the Christ, or to Elias, or to the prophet. The most cursory glance over the history shows, that the Pharisees did not imagine that John was performing the customary ablutions of the Mosaic law.

The dispute about purifying will confirm this view of the subject: "Then there arose a question between some of John's disciples, and the Jews, about purifying. And they came and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to him."\* The purifying here mentioned was apparently baptism. They disputed about purifying, and brought the account of what they imagined was a rival baptism to John; but if there arose a question between John's disciples and the Jews about baptism, there must have been some previous opinions on the subject prevalent among them. That they regarded baptism as a badge or profession of discipleship, is a conclusion to which we are obviously conducted by the history. "After these things came Jesus and his disciples into the land of Judea; and *there* he tarried with them, and baptized."† You will observe that this baptism of Jesus was in Judea. "And they came unto John, and said unto him, Rabbi, he that was with thee beyond Jordan, to whom thou barest witness, behold, the same baptizeth, and all men come to him." Those who were baptized by Jesus, were evidently regarded by the Jews as his disciples. That John so understood them, we infer from his reply, in which he avows his joy that all men were becoming the disciples of Jesus: "He must increase, but I must decrease." The narrative is continued, although unfor-

\* John iii. 25, 26.

† John iii. 22.

tunately interrupted in the midst by the abrupt termination of the chapter: "When therefore the Lord knew how the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John," (the opinion of the Pharisees was that baptism was the sign of discipleship.) "he left Judea, and departed again into Galilee."\* His leaving Judea, to avoid the observation of the Pharisees, who were jealous of his rising influence, shows, even if the narrative be not quite decisive, that the baptism of more disciples than John was the baptism referred to in the previous chapter. The inference is, that in the opinion of the Pharisees, our Lord by his baptism, or by that of the apostles under his sanction, received the multitudes who resorted to him as his disciples; that is, the baptism of John, and of our Lord, was understood by the Jews to be proselyte baptism.

I have explained this narrative, on the supposition of the accuracy of the received text; but there is a various reading, which Griesbach, Tischendorf, Lachmann, and other critics prefer, and which is supported by a preponderance of authority so decided, as to command our attention.† It is, "There arose a question between some of John's disciples and a Jew about purifying." If this reading be received, our inference from the narrative is not materially affected. This Jew was probably one who had been baptized, or was about to be baptized, by the disciples of Jesus, and with whom, it is probable, the disciples of John remonstrated for preferring another baptism, and then carried the question to their master, who answered, "He must increase, but I must decrease." Whatever be the true reading, the fact is clear, the Pharisees regarded the baptism of Christ, not as a legal purifi-

\* John iv. 1—3.

† Griesbach's note is, Ἰουδαίου. ABELS (St. π) 17, 25, 33, 36, 42, 57, 64, 72, 89, 91, 106, 108, 116, 127, 131, 142, 145, 157, 235. Ev. 1, 2, 3, 5, 19, 24, 40, al. 53, et Barber 6, Mt. BV. al. 16. Fragm. Aldin. Ed. Syr. utr. Pers. p. Eus. Cyr. Chrys. (etiam in Mt. 6 codd.) Nonn. Euthym. Theophyl. Schol. in cod. 34.

cation, but as a sign of discipleship ; and therefore, when they had heard of the number whom he baptized, he prudently retired, to avoid their jealousy and opposition, into Galilee, where their influence was not so powerful.

I may adduce, in confirmation of these remarks, the preaching of Peter on the day of Pentecost. A promiscuous crowd of foreign Jews, from every nation under heaven, came together, and were amazed as they heard "every man in his own tongue wherein he was born, Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, and in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and in the parts of Libya about Cyrene, and strangers of Rome, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians."\* To this crowd of foreigners, from countries so various and remote from each other, speaking so many different languages, and ignorant of their fathers' tongue, sojourning in Jerusalem only during the few weeks from the passover to the Pentecost, (many of them having probably made the pilgrimage but once in their lives,) Peter said, "Repent and be baptized every one of you." He assumed that they all knew the meaning of baptism. It seems to have been with them an old and familiar rite ; as, even if it were probable that on the same day they would have submitted to a ceremony, of the nature and meaning of which they had no previous knowledge, the terms of the address imply that they were already well acquainted with its administration. There was no need of delay in order to expound the nature or the meaning of the ceremony, for "they that received the word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls."

If, however, these passages should not be thought sufficient to prove that Jewish teachers usually baptized their disciples, they may afford at least a good test of the value

\* Acts ii. 8—11.

of rabbinical authorities upon the subject, and therefore to those authorities I have now to solicit your attention.

That Jewish writers of an early age assert that it was the uniform practice of their nation, and had been for a long time, to baptize all proselytes, is indisputable; although it has been said by those who deny the existence of a proselyte baptism in the time of our Lord, that their authority is not of sufficient value to decide this controversy. If, however, they are found to agree with the New Testament in the particulars in which they can be compared—as they assuredly did not copy from it, nor would they make the slightest attempt to produce a coincidence with it—the presumption is that they understood the subject on which they were writing, and are so far credible witnesses of the facts concerning which the comparison with the New Testament cannot be continued. I propose the argument thus: If the testimony of the rabbinical writers on the subject of proselyte baptism be found true in every particular in which it can be brought to the test of Scripture, the presumption is that it is also credible in those particulars in which it cannot be brought to the same test. The value of this testimony is further confirmed, if we notice the contempt and abhorrence with which they regarded the Christian Scriptures, notwithstanding the coincidence, and the Christian sacraments, notwithstanding the similarity of their own practice.

Ancient Jewish writers distinctly and expressly state, that every convert to the faith of their nation was received by baptism into the enjoyment of its privileges. Their authority is incontrovertible proof of the practice at the time they wrote, and they ascribe it to the age of their ancestors. The passages may be found in Selden, in Lightfoot, in Schoetgen, in Wetstein, in Leusden, in Hammond, and in other critics, who illustrate the New Testament from rabbinical writings.\* According to these authorities, proselytes, both

\* It is proper to state that, in my imperfect knowledge of oriental litera-



men and women, with their households, were initiated into Judaism by baptism. "Thus," says the Talmud of Babylon, "a person is not a proselyte until he be both circumcised and baptized."\* Or to give the whole dispute of the gloss, "'A proselyte that is circumcised and not baptized, what of him?' R. Eliezer saith, 'Behold he is a proselyte, for so we find concerning our fathers, that they were circumcised, but not baptized.' 'One is baptized, but not circumcised; what of him?' R. Joshua saith, 'Behold he is a proselyte, for so we find concerning the maid-servants, who were baptized.' But the wise men say, 'Is he baptized and not circumcised? or is he circumcised and not baptized? He is not a proselyte until he be both circumcised and baptized.'"+ According to the same Talmud, heathen women were baptized. "One baptizeth a heathen woman in the name of a woman; we can assert that is rightly done;" which is explained in the gloss to mean, that if the baptism of purification, appropriate to Jewish women, ("in the name of a woman,") were administered without the baptism of proselytism, it would be sufficient, because heathen women were not purified as were the Jewish.† According to this authority of the Babylonish Talmud, the baptism of purification and the baptism of proselytism were different services, as indeed is abundantly evident from other references. With the Babylonian agrees the Jerusalem Talmud, which says that a proselyte must be baptized before three witnesses, that they do not baptize a proselyte at night, and that they were not baptized until the wound of circumcision was healed.§ In accordance with both Talmuds is the testimony of Maimonides, the great authority in Jewish customs. "Whenever," he says,|| "a heathen will come and be joined to the covenant of Israel,

ture, I depend for the correctness of the rabbinical citations of this lecture upon the above authorities.

\* See Lightfoot's *Harmony on Luke* iii. Works III. 38.

† Lightfoot's *Works*, xi. 56. Ed. Pitman.

‡ Lightfoot, xi. 54.

§ Lightfoot *supra*.

|| Lightfoot, xi. 55.

and place himself under the wings of the Divine Majesty, and take the yoke of the law upon him, voluntary circumcision, baptism, and oblation are required of him; but if the proselyte be a woman, baptism and oblation." . . . . . "The sanhedrim received not proselytes in the days of David and Solomon: not in the days of David, lest they should betake themselves to proselytism, out of fear of the kingdom of Israel; nor in the days of Solomon, lest they should do so by reason of the glory of the kingdom. And yet abundance of proselytes were made in the days of David and Solomon before private men; and the great sanhedrim was full of care about this business, for they would not cast them out, *because they were baptized.*" Again he says, "At this time, when there is no sacrifice," (that is, when sacrifices cannot be presented on account of the demolition of the temple,) "they must be circumcised and baptized; and when the temple shall be rebuilt, they are to bring the sacrifice." Again, "As they circumcise and baptize strangers, so do they circumcise and baptize servants that are received from the heathen into the name of servitude," that is, to be slaves. The Mishna, the most ancient part of the traditions, mentions a dispute about proselyte baptism between the two famous schools of Shammai and Hillel, whether a proselyte might eat the passover on the evening in which he was baptized; and a custom is generally of some standing, before it gives rise to controversy.\* Other passages might be cited, but they

\* Tract Pesachim, c. viii. § 8. The words, as translated by Prof. Stuart, Bib. Rep. April, 1833, are, "As to a proselyte, who becomes a proselyte on the evening of the passover, the followers of Shammai say, Let him be baptized, and let him eat the passover in the evening; but the disciples of Hillel say, He who separates himself from the prepuce, separates himself from a sepulchre." On these words Prof. Stuart, who opposes the view we adopt, says most unfairly, "The authority of the more dominant party then, at the time when the Mishna was written," (that is, the school of Hillel,) "decided that baptism was not a complete initiatory rite, even after circumcision." It is evident the whole dispute respected the propriety of the novice of a day's

are precisely of the same import, and neither afford illustration nor confer authority upon those which I have adduced.

We have seen that both the Talmuds and Maimonides repeatedly assert, that the baptism of proselytes was the ancient and universal practice of the Jews; although we are not concerned to trace it higher than the tradition of the elders which prevailed in the time of our Lord. The question is, Of what value are these authorities in determining the practice? It would be uncandid not to state, that several scholars of great name, as Dr. Owen, Carpzovius, Lardner, Doddridge, Van Dale, in his history of Jewish and Christian baptisms, Ernesti, Paulus, De Wette, Stuart, and others, either deny or doubt that the baptism of proselytes was prevalent in the time of our Lord. On the other hand, Ainsworth, Selden, Buxtorf, Lightfoot, Schoetgen, Wetstein, Hammond, Wotton, Jahn, Michaelis, Mosheim, Kuinoel, Neander, Gieseler, and many others, maintain that such baptisms were observed and sanctioned at an earlier period, and this we believe is the prevalent opinion of theologians. We must, however, attempt to estimate the value of the evidence.

There is one inquiry which, although it does little for the argument, ought not to be entirely passed over. Is there any confirmation of these Jewish authorities in heathen or in ecclesiastical writers? We must confess, that of direct confirmation we can find nothing very satisfactory. The most important passage is in Arrian's Discourses of Epictetus, in which the latter is represented as blaming those who, professing to be philosophers, do not live philosophically. He says, "Do you not perceive on what terms a man is called a Jew, a Syrian, or an Egyptian?

standing eating the passover. The objection was founded on the uncleanness of a Gentile state not being immediately removed by circumcision. With more reason, therefore, might the learned professor have contended that circumcision was not thought to be a complete initiatory rite.

When we see a man inconsistent with his principles, we say he is not a Jew, but only pretends to be so; but when he has received the impression of one baptized and professed, he is then really a Jew, and is called so. Even so we are counterfeit baptists, in word Jews, but in fact something else.\* I cannot but observe the resemblance in the expression to a phrase in Maimonides, who says of the proselyte, "when he has heard the commands of the law, he dips himself, and comes up, and behold he is an Israelite in all things." Arrian says of the baptized, "he is in reality (τῷ ὄντι) a Jew."

This testimony is more ancient than the existing compilations called the Talmuds, although it is certain that their contents were collected from the still older traditions of the scribes. Arrian wrote about the year of our Lord 120 or 130; and if he faithfully preserved the words of his master Epictetus, this testimony is to be attributed to the very beginning of the second century.† If at that time the Jews commonly baptized their proselytes, there can be little doubt they did so in the time of our Lord. We are, however, not quite certain whether Epictetus or Arrian, whichever of the two furnished the expression, did not by the Jew mean the Christian, since Christians were sometimes regarded as a sect of the Jews. As this is possible, although I think not very probable, I dare not confidently adduce the passage in support of the rabbinical authority.‡

\* 'Ὅταν δ' ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος, τὸ τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ἡρημένου, τότε καὶ ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι, καὶ καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος. Οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς παραβάπτισται· λογῶν μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἐργῶ δὲ ἄλλοι. Some critics would read περιηρημένου, circumcised, but this is only conjecture, however plausible. If it were the true reading, the passage would be decisive in favour of our view of Jewish baptism, as it could not be referred to Christians.

† According to Le Clerc, A.D. 104; to Lardner, 109.

‡ The following passage, from Tacitus, respecting Jewish proselytes, has been introduced into this controversy.—*Transgressi in morem eorum idem usurpant: nec quicquam prius imbuuntur, quam contemnere Deos, exuere patriam, parentes, liberos, fratres vilia habere* (Hist. v. 5). Those who pass over to their (the Jews') mode of life, observe the same customs, nor are they imbued with anything sooner than to despise the gods, to renounce their

Wall cites some passages from the Fathers to prove that they were acquainted with the Jewish baptism of proselytes; but I must confess they are not very important. The Fathers generally held the opinion, that Moses baptized the Jewish people previously to the giving of the law, as may be seen in Cyprian,\* in Gregory Nazianzen,† in Chrysostom,‡ and in Basil,§ who contrasts the three baptisms of Moses, of John, and of Christ. Tertullian.|| speaking of heathen lustrations, as of the washings in the sacred rites of Isis, the making expiation by the sprinkling of houses, temples, and cities, the baptisms at the games of Apollo, and those at Eleusis, the cleansings from murder by water, says, “We recognize the zeal of the devil imitating the things of God, when he performs baptism upon his own people.” Wall thinks that Tertullian must refer to Jewish baptism, because Christian baptism was not instituted so early as these heathen washings, and therefore could not be imitated by the devil in his rites of purification. But this reasoning is not conclusive. The Fathers ascribed some, although a limited degree of foreknowledge to the demons, who were supposed to know the symbols, but not the sacred truths of the mysteries. Tertullian, therefore, might mean, as there is little doubt he did, that the devil anticipated the Christian rite, and so pre-occupied the minds of men with the rival baptism. Such seems to have been a very prevalent opinion of the early Christians.

country, to hold in no regard their parents, children, and brethren. The passage, so far as I can perceive, has no connexion with the subject. Prof. Stuart says, “This last phrase may be thus translated: Nor are they imbued, before they despise the gods, renounce their country, etc.” Bib. Repository, April, 1833, p. 349. By what ingenious contrivance it may be so translated, the worthy professor does not inform us. The words “to renounce their country, to hold in no regard their parents, their children, their brethren,” may be thought to contain some allusion to the Jewish doctrine of the adoption or new birth, on becoming a son of Abraham—having a new country, new parents, new connexions.

\* Cyp. Ep. 73. † Orat. 39. ‡ Hom. lxxiv. § Orat. in Bap.

|| De Bap. c. v.



I think, however, on the other hand, the inference of the learned Bishop of Lincoln, that Tertullian knew nothing of Jewish baptism, is exceedingly precarious. From the words of Tertullian, "His disciples baptized with the same baptism as John; for let no one suppose it was with any other, because there doth not exist any other, save that of Christ afterwards,"\* Dr. Kaye says, "We may fairly infer, that Tertullian knew no baptisms connected with the Divine dispensation, except those of John and Christ."† To this inference I reply, that as the baptism of proselytes had no connexion with the subject, seeing the disciples of Jesus, during our Lord's ministry, baptized only Jews, Tertullian evidently meant, that there was no other baptism which the disciples could have administered, during the life of Jesus, to the Jews who believed in him than that of John.‡

The Ethiopic version of St. Matthew's gospel, renders the passage, "Ye compass sea and land to make a proselyte, and when ye have made him," &c.,—"to baptize a proselyte, and when ye have baptized him," &c. It is therefore inferred that the Ethiopic translator believed that the Pharisees baptized their proselytes, and so considered the making and baptizing a proselyte the same thing. The Ethiopic version, however, is not earlier than the fourth century; and the translator, who was a Christian, might possibly, without adverting to the conduct of the Jews, have been accustomed to speak of making a proselyte as bap-

\* De Bapt. c. xi.      † Eccles. History, illus. from Tertullian, p. 439.

‡ Justin Martyr, in his Dialogue with Trypho, having asserted that circumcision is not necessary for Christians, adds, "Nor have we received that useless baptism of the cisterns." It has been suggested that the connexion of baptism with circumcision intimates a reference to the proselyte baptism of the Jews. The inference, however, appears to me very precarious, as the allusion might have been, and I think evidently was, to some of the divers baptisms of the Jews. So when Trypho is asked what of the Mosaic Law he believed to be necessary, he replied, "To keep the sabbath, and to be circumcised, and to observe the new moons, and to be baptized, having touched anything forbidden by the law of Moses, or having been in a public assembly."

tizing him. Whether this be probable, or whether the Ethiopian believed that the Jews baptized their proselytes, I will not venture to determine, nor is it of much consequence. These allusions can afford but very slight confirmation of the rabbinical authorities. We therefore propose the question fairly, What is the value of those authorities, unsupported by any confirmation except what we derive from their coincidence with Scripture?

On the age of the Talmuds, little need be said. That the Mishna was arranged in the second century, and contains the traditions of the elders prevalent in the time of our Lord, there can be no reasonable doubt.\* Those traditions, so carefully taught in the schools of the Jews, for which they were exceedingly zealous, could not have been materially altered in the course of one hundred and fifty years; and though they probably received continued accumulations, yet all their principal doctrines must have been faithfully preserved. It is not probable, that so remarkable a custom as the baptism of proselytes should have grown into authority after the destruction of Jerusalem. The Gemara of the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Talmud, or comments on the Mishna, were collected in the next two or three centuries. Maimonides lived about eleven hundred years after Christ.

The argument may be thus stated. That the baptism of proselytes was the authorized practice of the Jews, that is, of the Pharisees; of all who submitted to rabbinical authority, that is, of almost the whole race, at the time of the collection of the Talmuds, and we might add, even of the Mishna, their earliest part, is, as we have seen, unquestionable, for it is only dishonest evasion to identify the baptism of proselytes with the divers baptisms, the

\* Dr. Prideaux considers the date of the Mishna to be about A.D. 150, Lardner 180, Lightfoot 190. A few years earlier or later in no degree affect the argument. Rabbi Jehuda Hakkadosh, its reputed compiler, is said by Wagenseil to have died about 190; or according to others, 220.

legal ablutions of the Jews. That this baptism was the emblem of purification we allow; but then, as is most manifest, it was purification from the uncleanness of heathenism, not from the defilements of the law. Nor is it anything to the purpose to say that the rabbinical writers were the most absurd and doting scribblers who ever put pen to parchment. It is very easy and very foolish to select from the Talmuds most ridiculous stories. I do not cite history from the Talmuds, or I should produce the actual baptism of Roman soldiers, who while the temple was standing, were made proselytes. The question is, Did they know the customs of their own nation, and the traditions of their own elders? In the time of our Lord, the Pharisees had made void the law by their traditions. Were not these traditions pronounced by the lips of men who sat in the sacred chair of Moses, and were they not scrupulously preserved by their descendants, who were exceedingly zealous for the ritual of the elders?

The allusions in the New Testament to the traditions of the Pharisees, so far as they can be compared, exactly correspond with the representation of the Talmuds. The parallel on all subjects of custom and tradition, is too evident to admit of dispute. To adduce a few instances, is not to do justly with the argument, as may be seen on consulting any expositor who illustrates the New Testament from rabbinical writings. What chapter in the Gospels does not admit of illustration from Jewish authorities? However this may appear, I would ask any candid person, is it probable that the Jews, with their well-known abhorrence of the Gospel, would have adopted the rite of baptism, after it had become the universal and accredited symbol of the Christian faith?

Of the abhorrence with which the Jews regarded the early Christians, as every reader knows, ecclesiastical history supplies the most abundant evidence. At the martyr-

dom of Christians, we find the Jews, according to their custom, with all readiness assisting:\* through all the world we meet messengers from the Jewish authorities, forbidding their countrymen to hold any intercourse with Christians: in every synagogue we hear loud and bitter calumnies and curses cast upon the despised and hated Nazarenes: in every court we recognize the accent of Hebrew witnesses bearing false testimony against the morals and good order of the Christians.† Who but the Jews roused the indignation of the lower orders against the early Christians, and instigated the authorities to punish their teachers? Who else kindled the flames of the fiercest persecutions, and raised the murderous cry, To the lions? Who else invented and promulgated the infamous calumnies which were currently reported of the disciples of Christ? Who else told the monstrous tales of the nefarious suppers, and the feeding on infants' flesh, and the horrible incests of the nocturnal assemblies? The sparks of every persecution were fanned in the synagogue; the breath of every foul calumny issued from that malignant source. Justin, Tertullian, every apologist is our witness. The strength of our argument is, not that the express authority of the Talmuds is not to be impeached by a few passages from some later rabbins, whom Dr. Gale summons into the controversy, but that the Jews, who abhorred everything Christian, would by no means have adopted the distinguishing rite of the Christian church. Had not the baptism of proselytes been authorized before the time of Christ, it would not have been afterwards introduced by the Pharisees and zealots who, in their ascendancy over Israel, abhorred and despised everything belonging to the Gospel. The church received much of its discipline and order from the synagogue, but when did the synagogue deign to learn anything from the church? As well might you suppose that the Pharisees would have

\* Martyrium S. Polycarpi.

† Just. Mart. Dial. cum Try.

erected the cross of Christ upon the Beautiful gate of the temple, or observed the supper of the Lord in the service of the passover, or lectured in their schools on the epistles of St. Paul with the fooleries of the Talmud, as that they would have received and retained the rite of baptism from the despised and hated sect of the Nazarenes.

The only plausible objection is, that the baptism of proselytes is nowhere mentioned by Josephus or Philo, or the old Targumists; but every person conversant with historical evidence must have observed how very little dependence can be placed upon any argument founded on the mere negation of testimony. Proselyte baptism might have existed, although neither Philo nor Josephus, neither Onkelos nor Jonathan, nor Joseph, the one-eyed commentator, has mentioned it. Had they a fair occasion to mention it? Josephus, indeed, speaks of proselytes made by circumcision; and it is objected that, had they been baptized, he would have spoken of their baptism. He says that Hyrcanus, having subdued Idumea, gave the inhabitants leave to continue in their country, on the condition of their being circumcised, and observing the laws and customs of the Jews. They, therefore, unwilling to be expelled their native land, received circumcision, and lived according to the manner of the Jews.\* And again, that Aristobulus obliged the Itureans, who would stay in the land, to be circumcised, and to live according to the customs and laws of the Jews.† But as circumcision was the principal rite of initiation, Josephus probably considered all the inferior forms as sufficiently implied, without distinct specification, in the customs and manners of the Jews. He merely mentions the occasion of compulsory proselytism, without formally stating the manner of making proselytes. This, surely, is not to be considered good evidence in opposition to explicit testimony by writers treating expressly on the subject. Had he stated expressly that the Idumeans and

\* Antiq. lib. xiii. c. 9.

† Antiq. lib. xiii. c. 11.



Itureans were baptized, he would have added nothing important to his history, which required only the statement of the fact, not the manner, of their having been compelled to become Jews. Such negative testimony is of little value. What one person does not say, is a very poor contradiction of what another does say. But this, and nothing else, is the argument from the silence of Josephus. With as much plausibility an argument might be constructed to prove that Christians did not baptize, if the silence of some ancient authors, who say nothing upon the subject, were to be admitted as good authority against the practice: with more, that the Jews did not observe circumcision, seeing there is no instance recorded of the practice from Joshua to John the Baptist.

There is, however, in Josephus a passage, which will show the prevalence of the opinion that baptism was a ceremony for proselytes, even on their leaving one sect of the Jews and joining another. He says of the Essenes, "If any one desires to join their sect, he is not immediately admitted, but when he hath given evidence that he can observe their continence, he approaches nearer to their way of living, and is made a partaker of their waters of purification; yet he is not then admitted to live with them, but his disposition is tried two years longer, and they then admit him into their society."\* It cannot be said that this refers to the daily bathing of the Essenes before their common meal, because the proselytes were not permitted to live with them in their common abode until two years afterwards, and especially they were not permitted, says Josephus, to touch their common food until they had taken the solemn oaths of initiation. But even if it were so, our argument remains unaffected, for the use of the water of purification was so important a part of the process of admitting a proselyte as to be expressly mentioned.

We think also the celebrated passage in Josephus, re-

\* De Bel. lib. ii. c. 8, § 7.

specting John the Baptist, if its genuineness be admitted, of which there seems no reasonable doubt, as it is found in every manuscript, and was cited as early as Origen,\* would show that baptism was a well-known ceremony among the Jews, for he says, "Herod had killed him," (John,) "who was a good man, and commanded the Jews to exercise virtue, both as to righteousness towards one another, and piety towards God, and so to come to baptism; for that the baptism would be acceptable to him, if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins, but for the purification of the body."† Had he believed John to have introduced baptism, he would probably have adopted a different phraseology in speaking of the first persons baptized.

On the subject of Jewish baptism, I am disposed to take still higher ground, and to say, if there was no positive enactment of Moses' law according to which proselytes from the Gentiles were baptized, yet the requirements of that law rendered a baptism, a purification by water, absolutely necessary, before a Gentile could be received into the communion and society of the Jews. If this were the fact, Jewish baptism, though not expressly ordained by God, is, by the necessity of the case, of Divine authority. Whatever is absolutely necessary to be done, in order to observe a command of God, is, in effect, commanded, as well as the deed which is expressly enacted. If we advert to the ceremonial pollutions of the Mosaic law, we must acknowledge that the Gentile nations, without a single exception, were perpetually unclean. They, without scruple, ate the food, and touched the animals, and did many other things which would have rendered them unfit for the association of the Jews. No other nation under heaven observed the Jewish law respecting clean and unclean meats, so that

\* *Contra Cels.* lib. i. § 47. See Lardner, *Jewish and Heathen Testimonies.*

[† *Antiq.* lib. xviii. c. 5, § 2.

Michaelis \* and other writers maintain that the great object of the distinction of meats was to preserve the Israelites as a separate and peculiar people, by preventing their association at table with the men of any other nation. The man polluted with unclean food had to wash his clothes, or to bathe himself; the man who had touched any creeping thing, which the Gentiles touched without hesitation, was forbidden "to eat of the holy things, unless he wash his flesh with water." The man who had touched a corpse was to purify himself on the third day, baptize from the dead, † and was unclean if the water of separation was not sprinkled upon him. Even vessels, polluted with unclean food, were to be broken or washed with water. If a Jew, therefore, had lived among the Gentiles but a single day, he would have been ceremonially unclean, and must have been purified with the washing of water, (as Judith baptized herself every night at the fountain from the pollution of the tent of Holofernes,) ‡ before he could have been permitted to enter the congregation of the Lord. Is it to be supposed that a Gentile, who desired to associate with Israel, to be received into their families, to sit at their tables, to eat their holy things, to sacrifice at their great altar, to worship in their national temple, would not have been compelled to submit to the same purification as the Jew who returned from a single feast in the house of a Gentile? Would not the spirit, and even the letter of the law, require this purification from the proselyte? Had Peter eaten the unclean things in the vessel let down from heaven, he must have been baptized with water before he could have attended the holy services of the temple; and would not the same purification be required from Cornelius, had he sought to become a proselyte to Judaism? Without purification by water, it would seem impossible that a man

\* Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, book iv. c. iv. part 1, sect. 2.

† Sirach xxxi. 25.

‡ Judith xii. 7.

accustomed to feed upon swine's flesh, to drink blood, to touch unclean animals, and to live carelessly amidst the polluted things of idolatry, could have been allowed to join himself to Israel and to celebrate the holy feasts. That first purification from all the uncleanness of the heathen mode of living, rendered necessary by the various requirements of the law of the Lord, was not improbably the origin of the proselyte baptism of the rabbinical writers. A Gentile presenting himself at the Beautiful gate of the temple was unclean, and, therefore, he must have been purified with water before he could enter the sacred edifice. Is it needful to add, that if he brought his children with him, to present them before the Lord, as they like himself were unclean, like himself they would have been baptized?

On comparing the particulars which we gather from the Jewish authorities with the notices of baptism in the New Testament, we find a remarkable correspondence, which will confirm the evidence we have adduced. We have already adverted to this test; let us now examine it, as it will illustrate some particulars which we shall have hereafter to discuss respecting Christian baptism. The passage to which the Jewish authorities commonly appealed in defence of their baptism of proselytes, was Numb. xv. 15, 16: "One ordinance shall be both for you of the congregation, and also for the stranger that sojourneth with you, an ordinance for ever in your generations: as ye are, so shall the stranger be before the Lord. One law and one manner shall be for you, and for the stranger that sojourneth with you." Maimonides citing these words says, "As it is written, 'As you are, so shall the stranger be.' How are you? By circumcision, and baptism, and bringing of a sacrifice. So likewise the stranger through all generations; by circumcision, and baptism, and bringing of a sacrifice."\* The inquiry arises, How were the Jews baptized? Maimonides says, "By three things did Israel

\* Issure. Biah. c. 13. See Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. on John iii.

enter into covenant, by circumcision, and baptism, and sacrifice. Circumcision was in Egypt; baptism was in the wilderness, just before the giving of the law, as it is written, 'Sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes.'"\* So according to the Talmuds, their ancestors entered into covenant with God by circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice.† The doctrine of the scribes was, that the whole nation was baptized into Moses, which baptism sufficed for their descendants, and as it was to them, so must it be to the stranger; that is, every proselyte must be baptized also. Was this a doctrine as ancient as the time of our Lord? and was it in accordance with the apostolic teaching? Was the whole Jewish nation virtually baptized, as the rabbins taught, before they entered into the Mosaic covenant?

The apostle Paul determines this question, "Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea."‡ The argument of St. Paul evidently implies that the baptism into Moses was an important religious rite. The apostle was about to warn the Corinthians of the danger of those sins of which the Israelites in the wilderness were guilty, especially idolatry and fornication. He considered that by their sins they dishonoured the sacraments of God, and so provoked him to wrath. "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of devils. Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than he?" The apostle evidently supposes that the Corinthians were following the example of the Israelites, who, by the abuse of their religious privileges, did provoke the Lord to jealousy. Of

\* Issure. Biah. c. 13. See Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on John iii.

† See Wall, Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* on Matt. iii. and John iii. Selden de *Syned.* lib. i. c. 3.

‡ 1 Cor. x. 1, 2.



their privileges he enumerates the baptism into Moses, the eating of the same spiritual or typical food, the drinking the same spiritual or typical drink of the rock, which was Christ. Treating of the abuse of the Lord's supper, he refers to the typical food and drink of the Israelites; surely by baptism into Moses he must mean something more than the mere fact of passing through the sea and under the cloud. Of the bare fact, if it had not a spiritual meaning, the apostle could not have been so anxious the Christians should be informed, in order that they might be supplied with a salutary caution. He could not have referred to an ordinary affusion or immersion, whichever the baptism might have been, but to some affusion or immersion of a typical or sacramental character, like the baptism of the Christians, for the introduction of an event of no spiritual import would have been irrelevant to his argument. St. Paul, therefore, declares that the whole nation of Israel was, previously to the giving of the law, baptized into Moses, which is exactly the doctrine on which the Jews found their baptism of proselytes. The apostle indeed seems to represent the baptism as referring to the cloud and the sea; the rabbins, for the most part, to the ablution, the sanctifying themselves and washing their clothes at the foot of Sinai. But both agree that the whole nation of Israel was, previously to the covenant of Sinai, baptized into Moses, initiated by water into the religion or covenant which he announced. According to the Talmuds and according to St. Paul, there was a baptism of all the tribes of Israel unto Moses.

Another particular, worthy of attention, is, that the Jews considered the baptized proselyte as newly born, born a second time, having renounced his former parents on becoming one of a new nation. Wall, in his *History of Infant Baptism*, asserts, I think, too much, when he says, that "the baptism of a proselyte was called his regeneration, or new birth." I can find no passage to support his

assertion. The proselyte was represented as newly born, and his baptism was undoubtedly a sign of his proselytism, an indispensable rite by which it was accredited. But I do not know that the baptism, any more than the circumcision, or any other act in the admission of a foreigner into the Jewish church, was exclusively called the new birth. He was proselyted, or newly born, by water as the sign; but the proselytism, not the baptism, was his new birth.

The passages, as adduced by Lightfoot, are from the Talmud. "If any one become a proselyte, he is like a child new born;"\* and from Maimonides, "The Gentile that is made a proselyte, and the servant that is made free, behold, he is like a child new born."† The proselyte, therefore, was regarded as introduced into new connexions, a new parentage, and a new state. He became a child of Abraham, so far as external privileges were concerned, by circumcision and baptism. We have already proposed the inquiry hypothetically, if this were the language of the Jewish teachers, would it not illustrate the words which our Lord addressed to Nicodemus? We now have the illustration. The ruler brought to Jesus by night a secret confession of his faith, which our Lord would not receive. Jesus answered, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." Unless he become a proselyte by baptism, he is not, ostensibly and as entitled to its external privileges, a member of that kingdom; unless he become a convert by the Spirit, he is not, really and as entitled to its everlasting rewards, a member of that kingdom. To be completely a member of Christ's kingdom, both acknowledged by the church, and approved of God, he must be both a baptized and a converted man. That such is the true interpretation of these words of our Lord, may be inferred from several considerations. In the early

\* Jevamoth, fol. 62. 1; 92. 1.

† Maim. Issure. Biah. c. 14. (See Lightfoot, vol. xii. p. 255.)

ages no other meaning was ever assigned to the words. "To be born of water and of the Spirit" was the double baptism: to be born of water was the external sign, the outward and visible baptism; to be born of the Spirit, the inward and spiritual ablution. Hence Cyprian\* speaks of the sons of God as born from each sacrament, both of water and of the Spirit; and other† ecclesiastical authorities employ similar language.

No other satisfactory interpretation of the passage has ever been suggested. If to be born of water was not baptism, what was it, as distinguished from the birth of the Spirit?

This interpretation exactly applies to the character and conduct of Nicodemus. He hoped in his timidity, or probably on account of his pharisaical connexions, to be saved without confessing Christ, and Jesus would expose the vanity of his hope. The badge of a disciple must be worn by Nicodemus; although a ruler, he was to be allowed no exemption from the ordinary profession of the members of Christ's kingdom. He must take up his cross and enter the kingdom of God, precisely in the same manner as a despised publican or a polluted Gentile.

It may, however, be objected, if the baptized proselyte was regarded by the Jews as new born, how should the ruler in Israel reply to our Lord, "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?" But it is notorious that the Jews looked forward to the reign of Messiah, as a time of peculiar glory and happiness for *themselves* and *their nation*. The kingdom was to be given to Israel. Strange to their ears was the announcement of their conversion. That they should become proselytes to another faith, and so be baptized and regenerated, was a new and offensive proposal. Already they were the children of Abraham. How, like the Gentiles, could they come into the new rela-

\* Ep. lxxii.

† Hierom. Com. in Ezek. xvi. 4, 5.

tion of Israel, and be introduced into the covenant of mercy? Had our Lord spoken of a Gentile as being born again, Nicodemus would probably have understood him to mean, that the stranger had become a proselyte, a newborn child of father Abraham; but for a true and legitimate son of Abraham, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, a master in Israel, in whose veins every drop of blood flowed pure and uncontaminated through the long line of honourable ancestry from the blessed patriarchs—to be born again, to be brought into a new relation, to acquire a new parentage and a nobler ancestry, must have appeared as inexplicable a mystery, as it would have been for a man to be born again of his mother when he was old. The prejudice of the Jew was deep in the proud heart of the rabbi, and he replied, “How can these things be?” Was he to renounce the descent from Abraham? Was he to be regarded as the son of a stranger? Why should a child of Abraham seek another parent, or be born and baptized into another family?

There is another particular, in which the analogy between Jewish and Christian baptism may be observed by those who believe, as I do, that the household, comprising the children and the servants of the family, were baptized in the apostolic age, when the head of that family offered himself as a proselyte for baptism. This I believe was the practice with regard both to Jewish and to Christian proselytes; but at present I must confine myself to the Jews. The bearing of their practice upon the controversy with our Baptist brethren, must be reserved until we enter upon that subject; at present I have only to notice the evidence of the fact itself, which may be thus stated. If we would know whether the Jews, in the time of our Lord, were accustomed to baptize the children of proselytes, of whom can we inquire but of the ancient expositors of Jewish rites, or what can we consult but such religious writings of the nation as the accidents of time have left us? These expos-

itors may have been weak and foolish men ; these writings may be filled with idle tales and old wives' fables ; but to ascertain a matter of fact, whether they did or did not baptize the children of proselytes, who else, more correctly than they, can give us the requisite information ? We may undoubtedly use a wise discretion in hearing them, but on this subject theirs is the best, if not the only testimony, which can be procured ; and on a simple matter of fact it appears to be unexceptionable. I know that the rabbinical depositaries of tradition are at variance with the ancient law of God, and if they were not, they would be worthless on this question ; for our Lord expressly says that the scribes and Pharisees had made void the law of God by their traditions. If therefore the traditions of the Talmuds were entirely consonant with the law of God, they could not be the traditions which belonged to the era of our Lord and of his apostles. We have already seen, and any one who will consult them, or consult Schoetgen, Lightfoot, Selden, Wetstein, Hammond, and others who furnish extracts from them, may see more extensively, how in their corban and their titlings, their everlasting washings and their vain repetitions, and every other particular noticed in the gospels, the books of the Talmuds correspond with the traditions of the elders in the time of our Lord. The Babylonian Talmud\* says, " If with a proselyte, his sons and daughters be made proselytes, that which is done by their father redounds to their good." The Mishna speaks of a proselyte of three years old, which is thus explained in the Gemara : " They are accustomed to baptize a proselyte in infancy upon the approval of the consistory, for this is for his good." " They are accustomed to baptize," says the gloss, " if he have not a father, and his mother bring him to be proselyted, because none is made a proselyte without circumcision and baptism."† As we read of infants being

\* Chetubboth. c. i. fol. 11, according to Lightfoot.

† See Selden de Syned., and Lightfoot's Harmony on John i. 25.



proselytes and of the privileges of infant proselytes, and especially of female infants, we may conclude, according to these authorities, that if such had not been baptized they would not have been called proselytes. Maimonides also says,\* “An Israelite that takes a little heathen child, or that finds a heathen infant, and baptizes him for a proselyte, behold he is a proselyte! The person who baptizes the infant, acts towards him the part of a father.” So the Jerusalem Talmud treats of the difference of baptizing an infant, which has been found, for a slave or for a freeman.†

From these authorities, Lightfoot infers, that among the Jews, “the baptizing of infants had been a thing as commonly known and as commonly used, before John’s coming and to the very time of his coming, as any holy thing that was used among the Jews; and they were as well acquainted with infants’ baptism, as they were with infants’ circumcision.”‡ Without dealing in quite so summary a way with rabbinical testimony, it may be desirable to examine it carefully.

I have said no better testimony is to be obtained; let it be added that there is no contradictory testimony whatsoever. Neither Josephus, nor Philo, nor the ancient Targums, supply any information upon the subject. Both Talmuds agree, the glosses correspond, and Maimonides, the great interpreter of Jewish law, confirms and elucidates the Talmudists. Tried by every test we can apply, the rabbinical writings give a true account of the traditionary customs which prevailed in the time of our Lord. The baptism of infant proselytes was certainly the practice of the Jews when the Talmuds were composed. The writers must have known the customs of their own nation. These rabbins were themselves the great authorities of their age, and their writings, surely in accordance with their own practice, must have regulated the practice of the whole nation. The men whose opinions are recorded, were in

\* In Avadim. c. 8.      † Jevamoth, fol. 8. 4.      ‡ Harmony on John i. 25.

their day the teachers of the great schools, the leaders of the great sects, the authorities whose broad phylacteries, long prayers, and self-denying fasts, procured the veneration of the people, and conciliated the most faithful regard for the correct preservation of their opinions in all questions of importance, civil or ecclesiastical. Nor can there be imagined any motive for misrepresentation; much less was it possible that different writers, of different and, in some respects, opposing schools, should have combined to misrepresent the religious rites of their own nation. But if infant baptism was the uniform practice of the Jews at the time the Talmuds were composed from more ancient fragments, there can be little doubt it prevailed in the time of our Lord; for subsequently, down to the Talmuds, the religious customs of the Jews could have suffered very little mutilation. But further I maintain, if the baptism of proselytes prevailed at all among the Jews in the time of our Lord, which we have seen it must have done, unless we admit the most improbable supposition that they received the rite from the Christians, it would follow, as a matter of course, even if we had no testimony whatever upon the subject, that the children of proselytes were baptized in their infancy. The infant sons of proselytes were, of course, circumcised. According to the command given to Abraham, every male child must have been circumcised before it was numbered with the people. As baptism and circumcision accompanied each other, if they were baptized at all, the inference is undeniable that they were baptized, as they were circumcised, in infancy. Being circumcised, they were deemed proselytes, and there was no subsequent time in which they could have been offered for baptism. Numbered with their parents in infancy among the children of Abraham, they must have received the rites of initiation, if they received them at all, when they were admitted into the visible church or kingdom of Israel. The child of a Hebrew was initiated in infancy,

the child of a proselyte would be initiated at the same age. How should baptism be deferred when circumcision was performed? The child, as well as the parent, would need to be purified from the uncleanness of "living as do the Gentiles." Indeed, among the Jews there was no rite peculiar to the adult proselyte. According to their rule, as was the parent so was the child. Independently, therefore, of the express testimony of their authorities, we may infer that the Jews, as they circumcised, so they baptized the infants of proselytes, and received the household with the parents as initiated into the covenant of Abraham. The probability of the thing, combined with the express testimony in its favour, places it, we think, beyond any reasonable objection or doubt.

It may be expected that I should notice the opinions of those who deny that the Jewish baptism of proselytes was practised as early as the time of our Lord, although they are compelled to admit it prevailed two or three centuries later. Dr. Owen\* thinks proselyte baptism was introduced by the rabbins, in imitation of the popular baptism of John; and Prof. Stuart† says this "is not improbable." Few things appear to me more improbable. This subsequent introduction does not explain the allusions in the gospels. That the baptism of John was popular among the Jews, is certainly a strange reason to assign for the institution of a new baptism of which the Jews could not be participants, confined as it was from its very nature to the Gentiles, as they only could offer themselves to be proselyted. If the rabbins had been emulous of the popularity of John, they might have followed his example in baptizing the house of Israel.

We have inferred from the allusions in the New Testament, independently of rabbinical authority, that baptism was a rite with which the Jews, in the age of our Lord, were very well acquainted. To account for these allusions,

\* Theolog. lib. v. d. 4.

+ Bib. Repository, No. x.

another hypothesis has been suggested and defended, especially in Germany, by those theologians who deny the antiquity of Jewish proselyte baptism. They suppose, that about the time of the appearance of John, there was a general expectation that the precursor of the Messiah—the Elias, or the prophet, would purify the whole nation by baptism, as the preparatory rite to the reign of the Son of David. This, it is thought, was the doctrine of the scribes and Pharisees. Mosheim, although he maintained the antiquity of proselyte baptism, adopted this opinion;\* and since his time it hath been received, we believe, by almost all who reject the views we have defended in this lecture. It well explains the allusions in the gospels; and if proselyte baptism was unknown, some such opinion must have prevailed among the Pharisees, who inquired, Why baptizeth thou then, if thou be not Elias, nor the prophet, nor Christ? Were I an unscrupulous pleader, casting about at the commencement of this lecture in search of the theory which would best sustain my own opinion on the question of Pædobaptism, I should certainly have selected this hypothesis, rather than the one which I have endeavoured to defend. It would, I think, with equal authority, warrant the opinion that Pædobaptism was practised among the Jews, and would confer upon their practice a sanction and importance which I have not ventured to assert. If the Jews generally expected that the precursor of the Messiah would introduce his reign by a general baptism, it appears to me that the spirit of prophecy must have lived among them, and to its inspiration alone an expectation, so extraordinary and so well confirmed by the result, must be ascribed. Whether some venerated prophet, dwelling in the precincts of the temple, like Simeon or Anna, announced the evangelic symbol of a great ablution, or whether the oracle, moving

\* De Rebus ante temp. Const., cent. 1, § 5. The two opinions are not inconsistent.

in the breast of some one, like Caiaphas, being high-priest that same year, uttered its response, or where or how the prophecy came, it was no tradition of men, no mere gloss of the scribes, no false premonition of the prince of this world. The precursor did baptize; but this foreknowledge was too high for the Jews, they could not have attained unto it. Even if this expectation were of human origin, God accrediting it by sending John to baptize, conferred upon it a sanction little less than divine. If such was the origin of baptism, we can entertain very little doubt, (forming our judgment from the whole character of the Jewish ritual; and from what else can we form any judgment?) that infants, as well as adults, were included in the preparatory ablution. According to this theory baptism belonged to Judaism; and what Jewish purification, what Jewish ceremony of any kind, was restricted to the pious, or restricted to the adults? Judaism was in the most extensive sense national, and every part of its ritual belonged equally and indiscriminately to all the children of Israel. A restrictive ceremony was totally alien to the spirit of Judaism; and if it existed, must have been inconsistent with every principle of the national economy. So far as the baptism was Jewish, there could have been no distinction, and all Israel must have been equally competent to receive it. In this national baptism, unless the spirit of Judaism were completely exploded before the time, infants must have been included. Had I sought the most favourable theory, to sustain the subsequent lectures, I should have selected this origin of baptism, and insisted upon the presumption which it affords in favour of infant baptism among the Jews, sanctioned by the prophetic intimations of Divine authority. But I cannot honestly avail myself of this argument, because I think the theory of proselyte baptism quite sufficient to explain the allusions of the New Testament, as it is sustained by historical evidence, of which the counter-hypothesis is totally deficient.



There is, however, in favour of the hypothesis, that the Jews expected there would be a general baptism on the approach of the Messiah, some slight presumptive evidence which may be collected from the prophetic descriptions of the purification which was then to be instituted. As this purification is often mentioned in the prophets, as it is sometimes described as a cleansing with water, as the Jews referred these passages to the Messiah, and as they always were inclined, like the modern millennarians, to a literal and carnal interpretation, it may be thought not improbable that the general expectation of a national baptism arose simultaneously with the general expectation of the advent of Christ. I admit the presumption; the theory itself is not unreasonable; but it is, so far as I can find, destitute of historical evidence, unless the intimations in the gospels respecting Jewish baptism be considered evidence, which appear to me to admit of explanation from the proselyte baptisms, in favour of which we have direct Jewish testimony. As, however, several prophecies of the Old Testament were interpreted by the Christian fathers as ancient predictions of the institution of baptism, it has been suggested that a similar interpretation might have been assigned to them by Jewish scribes, and so might have arisen an expectation of a general baptism. The following passages, among others, may be specified. Isaiah iv. 4: "When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of Zion, and shall have purged the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the spirit of judgment, and by the spirit of burning." Ezekiel xxxvi. 25: "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean." Zechariah xiii. 1: "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, for sin and for uncleanness." By the fathers, as by Cyprian, who cites the prophecy of Ezekiel in proof of the validity of baptism by aspersion; by Origen, Eusebius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Jerome, Cyril of Jerusalem,

Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret, as well as in several ancient rituals, these passages are referred to baptism. If the rabbins interpreted these and similar passages as predicting that the Messiah would purify by water, we have a rational mode of explaining the allusions to baptism in the gospels; but, I repeat, we have no right to assume this without historical evidence.

The summary of this lecture is that, previously to the time of our Lord, the baptism of proselytes was customary among the Jews; that the Jewish and Christian baptisms correspond in many particulars, and their correspondence illustrates several allusions in the New Testament; that the Jews were accustomed to baptize the infants of proselytes together with their parents, and so to incorporate them into the kingdom of Israel; that without baptism no Gentile adult or infant could be received into the congregation of Israel, or admitted within the gates of the temple of the Lord; or if these opinions prove incorrect, the general expectation of a universal baptism prevailed about the time of the appearance of John the Baptist, and however it arose, received the sanction of the Divine authority, in the institution of John's baptism.

## LECTURE IV.

### ON JOHN'S BAPTISM.

'I, indeed, have baptized you with water, but He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost.'—*Mark* i. 8.

Παλαῖας τὸ τέλος, καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης ἀρχὴ τὸ βάπτισμα· Ἰωάννης γὰρ ἦν ἄρχηγος.  
*Cyrl. Hier. Catech. Lect. iii. 6.*

JOHN, the Baptizer, the son of Zacharias, was by his birth, of the sacerdotal office. It is not however probable, that he discharged any of the peculiar functions of the priesthood, for he received his special commission, as a prophet, to announce the coming of Christ, and to baptize into his name, as he was entering on the thirtieth year of his age, the year in which he would, in due course, have been installed and registered as a priest before the sanhedrim at Jerusalem. It is said "he abode in the desert," the hill country where he was born, "until his showing forth unto Israel;" which expression may denote, until he appeared to execute his important office as the precursor of the Messiah. As in sustaining that office he baptized great multitudes,—as he baptized them by Divine appointment, and baptized the Lord Jesus,—the consideration of his baptism may afford some assistance in the more important inquiry respecting the nature of Christian baptism.

John had to teach a new doctrine. He was commissioned to declare that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. The older prophets had described the reign of Messiah: John announced his advent. The proclama-

tion of the near approach of his reign attracted the attention of great multitudes, who received baptism from him, and were thenceforth called his disciples. That his baptism was regarded as the initiatory rite by which the Jews were made his disciples, is evident from the words of the evangelist: "the Pharisees heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John." Those that Jesus baptized were called his disciples, those that John baptized were his disciples. So closely were the baptism and the new doctrine connected, that the one term seems to be employed for the other. "The baptism of John," (the new doctrine) "was it from heaven, or of men?"\* "After the baptism" (the doctrine) "which John preached."† To be baptized was to be initiated as a disciple, or learner of the new doctrine—the speedy coming of Christ. It is true that the baptism of John is called the baptism of repentance, but then the repentance was in every instance founded upon the new doctrine, the uniform exhortation, the incessant cry of the baptizer being, "Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The object of this baptism is stated by St. Paul, "John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people, that they should believe on him who should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus." The amount of what we learn from the evangelical history is, that multitudes received the rite of baptism from John, and many of them were taught the new doctrine on which he founded his exhortation to repentance. It is indeed said, they were baptized confessing their sins, but whether they uttered an audible confession as they stood in crowds listening to his preaching, or their baptism was itself an act of confession, an acknowledgment that they needed repentance, we are not able to ascertain. The numbers baptized will not allow us to suppose that there was a distinct and personal confession, anything like auricular

\* Mark xi. 30.

† Acts x. 37.

confession, of their several offences made to John their baptizer.

Of this baptism of John we have, I think, sufficient evidence in determining two particulars,—the one, that it was indiscriminately administered to all applicants; the other, that it effected no change, moral or spiritual, upon their minds.

The baptism of John was indiscriminately administered to all applicants. Of the great multitudes who went out to his baptism, we have not the slightest hint of any person whatever having been rejected. Matthew\* says, "There went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, and were baptized of him in Jordan." Mark† says, "There went out to him all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, and were *all* baptized of him in the river of Jordan."‡ Although we do not understand these expressions literally, yet they must imply that great multitudes were baptized of him. Have we any right to assume, in contradiction to the letter of the text, that there was any selection, any test of fitness, anything required beyond the application of the parties to receive the sign of his doctrine? It seems to have been the duty of every Jew to enrol himself as an expectant of the coming Messiah, or what was the same thing, as a disciple of John. The Pharisees and lawyers in not being baptized of him, "rejected the counsel of God against themselves." Hence when John saw Jesus offer himself for baptism, there seemed some incongruity, something unsuitable in the greater enrolling himself as the disciple of the less, the Master receiving baptism from the servant. Jesus replied, "Suffer it to be so now, to fulfil all righteousness." Although Jesus had no sins to confess, no repentance to practise, yet as a Jew he would

\* ch. iii. 5, 6.

† ch. i. 5.

‡ Or according to a various reading, "they of Jerusalem *all*, and were baptized."



act as became the men of his nation. As Moses purified the nation preparatory to the descent of Jehovah on Sinai, so it seems to have been the commission of John to purify the whole nation preparatory to the coming of Messiah. Each dispensation was introduced by a general baptism. As it was the duty of every Jew to learn of the new prophet, so no one was forbidden to be initiated by baptism as his disciple. The baptism of John could have implied no more than the interest of the baptized in his doctrine, and their duty to become acquainted with it.

But the general terms employed by the evangelists do not constitute the whole, nor even the chief part of our reasoning. Although no one has a right to limit their universal language, nor when Mark says, *all*, to reply, only a class was baptized; yet if some do so narrowly interpret the evangelists, the language of John addressed to the promiscuous crowds of all classes, Pharisees and Sadducees, publicans and soldiers, will bear no such limitation. "When he saw many of the Pharisees and Sadducees come to his baptism, he said unto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance: and think not to say among yourselves, We have Abraham to our father: for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire." Yet he continues, "I indeed baptize you with water, but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire: whose fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner, but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire."\* From these words we infer

\* Matt. iii. 7—12.

that John suspected the Pharisees and Sadducees, whom he called by the opprobrious name of vipers, of reposing in their national privileges as the children of Abraham, that he nevertheless baptized them *unto* repentance, *not after it*, that the baptism of the Holy Ghost must be administered by one mightier than himself, and that the separation between the righteous and the wicked was not to be made at that time by him, but afterwards by his successor. No language, we think, can more expressly and decidedly prove that John administered his baptism indiscriminately to all applicants ; and this is but saying in other words, that he admitted all persons indiscriminately to become his disciples, the learners of his doctrine. To say that John selected the parties to be baptized, is inconsistent with the evangelical narrative, for the parties went out to be baptized of him. They must have thought that his baptism would be conceded to them without hesitation, as it is not said they went to learn of him, but to be baptized. Baptism was the first thing they sought, the object they had in view, although they went to him as carelessly as if they had gone to see a reed shaken with the wind, or a man clothed in soft raiment, a man of a vacillating and inconstant spirit, or of a soft and luxurious life. Of no one have we any right to say John refused or deferred his baptism ; he made no selection, and therefore by his baptism he did not attempt to discriminate character. No one has any right to attribute to him the delusion of supposing that the crowds of Jews whom he baptized were true penitents ; still less to feign a qualification for baptism, and to say, without authority of Scripture, that John instituted it.

Equally clear is it that the baptism of John produced no moral nor spiritual change upon the persons who received it. He disclaimed the power of producing such a change, when he contrasted his baptism with that of the Holy Ghost, administered by one mightier than himself. The subsequent history of the gospels teaches us that the ex-

citement produced by the preaching of John speedily subsided, and the multitudes, who for a time seemed willing to walk in his light, quickly relapsed into their former indifference. Although from the days of John the Baptizer all men pressed into the kingdom of God, yet they rejected the ministry of Christ, and refused the Gospel as a narrow and forsaken path. The Pharisees remained as proud, and the Sadducees as sceptical, the publicans as extortionate, and the soldiers as violent, as they had been previously to their baptism; for nothing is more certain than that the Jewish nation, although so generally baptized by John and the disciples of Jesus, exhibited no permanent reformation, brought forth no fruits meet for repentance. Through baptism all men pressed into the kingdom of heaven, yet they were most disobedient, rebellious, and unfaithful subjects, so that both John and Jesus had to say to the multitudes whom they baptized, "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced: we have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented."

I need not reason upon this point any longer, because I know not that I have any opponent. The Fathers, with their lofty language on the mighty and mysterious efficacy of baptism,—the Catholics of Rome, and the Tractarians of England, with their different theories of sacramental grace,—all admit that John had not the Holy Ghost to sanctify his water of baptism; and that, therefore, being destitute of the great power of God, his baptism was only a sign of the better and mightier baptism of the Christian church. The general opinion of ecclesiastical antiquity is expressed by Chrysostom.\* "The baptism of John was indeed far superior to the Jewish, but inferior to ours; it was a kind of bridge between the two baptisms, leading from that to this." The ancients frequently observe that it had not the Holy Ghost, and that it did not bestow the remission of sins. Thus Jerome says, † "If John, as he

\* Hom. lxxxiv.

† Adv. Lucif. § 7.

himself confesses, did not baptize in the Spirit, neither did he remit sins, because sins are remitted to none without the Holy Spirit." There are so many passages of similar import, that all who hold zealously to catholic antiquity admit that John's baptism conferred no spiritual gift. Thus Dr. Pusey, contrasting the baptism of John with that of Christ, terminates the antithesis of several particulars in these words: "The one a baptism in which they knew not whether there be any Holy Ghost, the other a baptism in which the Holy Ghost came upon them, and dwelt in them, and manifested his presence within them."\* It is the uniform opinion of all these defenders of baptismal efficacy that the Jordan, when John baptized in it, was no laver of regeneration, no stream of life, because the Holy Ghost was not yet poured down from heaven. The least baptizer in the kingdom of heaven is, in their esteem, greater than John.

We have now, in connexion with this subject, to solicit attention to the universal admission, or rather the indisputable truth, that, previously to the resurrection of our Lord, there was no such a thing on earth as baptismal regeneration. It may be said the Christian church was not then constituted, nor was it endowed with the Holy Ghost until the day of Pentecost; to which we have only to reply, without commencing a controversy on the origin of the Christian church, that there were many truly pious and devout persons who, although never baptized, or baptized only by John, were members of the kingdom of heaven, and now inherit its promises. We assume they were faithful and godly men, and we assume nothing more; but this assumption, which surely no one will controvert, strikes at the root of sacramental efficacy, and will, we think, enable us to bring the controversy on baptismal regeneration to a successful issue.

The traditional doctrine of the church on which 'Tracta-

\* Tracts for the Times, No. 67.



rians rely is, that neither the baptism of John, nor that of the disciples during our Lord's personal ministry, was endowed with the power of regeneration; but if these early baptisms were really Christian baptisms, (and we have never yet seen the essential difference fairly proved, as we shall presently attempt to show,) it follows that Christian baptism at its institution and during its early administration, had no immediate connexion with the regeneration of the Spirit. Tractarians, however, on the same authority of ecclesiastical tradition, maintain that baptism, since the resurrection of Christ, has been ever accompanied with the regeneration of the Spirit, and that the essential difference is apparent, for John baptized with water, but Christian ministers, like their Master, baptize with the Holy Ghost. On their own grounds, we proceed to inquire what moral quality, or what spiritual disposition, what Christian grace, what good fruit of the Spirit was there, which John the Baptizer, or his disciples believing on Christ, or the disciples of our Lord during his ministry, or those baptized by them, did not possess, or might not have obtained, by prayer, diligence and faith, without being re-baptized, as assuredly many of them, if not all, died without receiving what our opponents consider to be Christian baptism? It will be said of John, and Nathanael, and many others, baptized without regeneration, they were good men, but not regenerate of the Holy Ghost. It follows that the unregenerate may be good men, God's faithful servants, crowned with everlasting glory. We ask, were these men born good? and were they without any change fit for heaven? No, reply the Tractarians, for to say they were would be gross Pelagianism, against which vile heresy the blessed Augustine, and the universal church, with one voice, have firmly and invariably protested. Then what power subdued the original corruption of their nature? and whence was it derived? Was it from heaven or of men? If from heaven, wherein did this sanctification of Divine



influence differ from regeneration by the Spirit? If from men, what need for the baptism of the Spirit to do that which a man can do for himself? In what bath were their sins washed away? How has that ancient source of sanctity and pardon, whatever it was, been deprived of its cleansing and absolving power, so that no man, having sinned after baptism, can now find it for the relief and safety of his soul? Some of the ancients maintained that unbaptized infants were saved from punishment, although not being born of water, they could not enter the kingdom of heaven. One might conclude that our opponents would place these first baptized of John and of Jesus in that state of partial salvation, that mansion for unbaptized innocents in the Father's house in paradise, but not in heaven,—the place in which the patriarchs were confined until they were liberated by baptism administered by Christ himself, as some of the ancients fancied, when he preached to the spirits in prison. I know that Dr. Waterland, and some other Divines of the English church, have maintained that regeneration effected by baptism is not a moral nor spiritual change, but rather a change of state or condition, a relative and federal change, or an introduction into the covenant of grace. But this is not baptismal regeneration as generally understood. It is not the baptismal regeneration of the Tractarians, nor yet of the Church of England, which declares a sacrament to be an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.

As we shall have another occasion to notice the system of Waterland, I return to reason with those who believe that baptismal regeneration is an inward and spiritual grace, and advance another step in saying, that previous to the resurrection of our Lord, not only was there no such thing as baptismal regeneration, but there was no sacrament, no ceremony whatever, which was associated with this inward and spiritual grace. Neither in circumcision, nor in any ablutions of the Mosaic law, in no symbol nor

ritual whatever, was there conveyed the regeneration of the soul. Whatever in the ancient church might have prefigured baptism or occupied its place, be it circumcision or be it ablution with water, it was utterly destitute of the power of sanctifying the heart. I must refer the reader to some remarks, in the second lecture, on the words of the apostle: "He is not a Jew which is one outwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter." I need cite no other authorities upon this subject; for the ablest of the defenders of baptismal regeneration, and especially the Tractarians, agree that circumcision was only a sign of internal purity, and a seal of the Jewish covenant, but not the channel by which its grace was conveyed to the subject. Thus Dr. Pusey maintains, "It was only a sign, a shadow, a symbol, having no sanctifying power, a mere type of baptism, *just such a sign as Calvinists now consider baptism to be*;"\* and sustaining his opinions by many citations from the Fathers, he asks, Is baptism still to be a mere type, because circumcision was? We shall answer this question in the proper place; at present we only notice the concession in accordance with ecclesiastical antiquity, (although divines of the Church of Rome, following the schoolmen and Augustine, have held a different opinion,) that circumcision was only a type, and that the sacraments of the law were only symbols prefiguring the sacraments of the Gospel. Indeed the difficulties of maintaining that circumcision was a medium of communicating grace, are so obvious and perplexing, implying that the grace was communicated to the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Ishmaelites, and all the numerous tribes descended from Keturah, to every predatory Arab, every wild man of the desert, and that it was a privilege in Israel imparted only to the males, that we do not wonder the Anglo-Catholic advocates of baptismal regeneration have discreetly surrendered this most dangerous outwork.

\* Tracts for the Times, No. 67.

Having it now in our possession, we will do our best to fortify it as an advantageous point of attack.

But if the Tractarians have surrendered the ancient sacrament of circumcision as only a symbol, and not a medium of grace, their opponent, Mr. Faber, maintains that circumcision corresponded with baptism, which, according to his view of the Christian rite, is a medium through which regeneration is occasionally, but not uniformly conveyed. In his "Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration," he says, "By the universal interpretation of the early church, baptism and circumcision were ruled to be spiritually and sacramentally identical."\* Than such an assertion nothing can be more remote from the truth. The early church everywhere repudiated the doctrine of regeneration by circumcision, and almost everywhere maintained, in some form or other, the doctrine of regeneration by baptism. Even if Mr. Faber be right, that the doctrine of the early church corresponded with his own theory, that baptism was only one of the channels in which regeneration was conveyed, it does not appear that circumcision was ever in the first ages, or in any age, considered a channel of regeneration, a means of grace to the Jewish church. It was anciently regarded as a type of baptism; but the two rites were esteemed as "spiritually or sacramentally identical," no more than the temple and the body of Christ, or than the brazen serpent and the sacrifice of the cross, of which one was the type of the other. The passages which Mr. Faber cites by no means prove his point. Passing over the citations from Augustine, who, we admit, expressed a different opinion from the earlier Latin and all the Greek Fathers, we notice those which he adduces from Chrysostom, from Athanasius, from Cyprian, from Justin Martyr.† In all these circumcision is represented, not as equivalent to baptism, but only as the *type* of baptism, or the emblem

\* The Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration, b. II. c. ii. p. 106.

† See Appendix A.

of the true circumcision in Christ; and so far they agree with the general opinion of the Fathers. The type is represented as a mere sign, the antitype as the means of communicating grace. When Mr. Faber says that circumcision was regarded by the ancient church "as an outward sign, representing an inward grace, which *it was designed instrumentally and mediately to convey*," he says what his own citations do not prove, and he says it in direct opposition to the whole tenor of ecclesiastical antiquity. Circumcision is occasionally mentioned as an emblem of internal sanctity, but not, as the Fathers supposed baptism to be, a means of imparting it.\*

The reverend ecclesiastics of the Council of Trent, cardinal and archiepiscopal, with all their minor theologians and canonists, knew better than to anathematize at once all Christian antiquity, when they intended to curse only such modern divines as, with Mr. Faber, hold the heresy condemned in their seventh session, "That the sacraments of the old and new law differ only in ceremonies," although unfortunately they involved St. Augustine in their anathema. The doctrine maintained by Mr. Faber and his admirers is, that regeneration, although not *inseparably* connected with baptism, is so frequently as to authorize the Anglican church, in the judgment of charity, to pronounce the baptized person regenerate. Maintaining, as he does, that circumcision and baptism are sacramentally identical, or "differ only in ceremonies," he controverts

\* Of how little account circumcision was made by some of the early Fathers, may be seen in their disputes with the Jews, as especially in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho, in which he contends that circumcision was neither the cause nor the symbol of personal sanctity—that it was, with much of the Mosaic ritual, intended as a restraint upon the Jews by making a distinction between them and other nations—that it was a sign of the destruction which should come upon the Jews—and that it had been imposed upon the Moabites, Edomites, and other idolatrous nations—(See Appendix A.) The author of the epistle ascribed to Barnabas says, "You will say the Jews were circumcised for a sign; and so are all the Syrians and Arabians, and all the idolatrous priests; but are they, therefore, of the covenant of Israel?"—c. ix.



the Tractarian doctrine, that baptism is *invariably* the channel of imparting regeneration, by proving that circumcision was not so; but this argument, if good for anything, will quite as effectually demolish his own doctrine. Baptism is not *occasionally* the channel of imparting regeneration, for circumcision was not so, is the proper reply, in a few words, to his elaborate reasoning. Tractarians, in accordance with Catholic antiquity, deny the sacramental identity of the two institutions, and so leave Mr. Faber on the wreck of his argument and piles of citation, to grow angry with their temerity, and comfort himself with the great St. Augustine. The Fathers speak of the Levitical ablutions exactly as they do of circumcision,—as types of Christian baptism, and shadows of the good things to come, not able to cleanse the worshippers; and therefore, we need not travel the same line of argument a second time.\*

Here for the present we take up our position on ground fortified by antiquity, which our opponents will not dispute, that previously to the resurrection of Christ, there was no regeneration, no spiritual grace, either invariably or occasionally conveyed by any sacrament or ceremonial of any kind whatsoever. According to Scripture, on which we rely, according to ecclesiastical antiquity, on which our opponents depend, according to Catholic witnesses, orthodox at Oxford and at Rome, from Palestine, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Africa Proper, Gaul, North and South Italy, catechists, bishops, and holy martyrs, without any contradictory voice, circumcision was a mere sign never accompanied with regeneration. Nor is any other ceremony ever mentioned as regenerating. But were no persons then regenerated? or if they were, by what channel was the grace conveyed? or had the Jews nearer access to God without a ceremony? Did they receive communications of grace immediately and directly from him? If so, Christianity has become more ceremonial in its oper-

\* See especially Justin Mart. Dial. c. Tryp.



ations, more ritual in its character, than was Judaism ; it does through a sacrament that which Judaism was able to do without one. The embroidered veil of ancient hieroglyphics which concealed the propitiatory, has been rent in twain, that in its place might be suspended another of closer texture and more opaque colouring, until the priest, clothed in apostolic powers, raise it with due formality to admit the initiated. Clement of Alexandria, in his fervid commendations of baptism, calls it the immortal eye-water, which enables the eye to look upon the immortal light ; but Judaism, it would seem, with a stronger visual power, without the aid of the collyrium, could look undazzled upon the surpassing glory. Christianity directs her new-born babes to behold the reflected image, the softened splendour of the Sun of righteousness in the consecrated waters of the baptismal font ; but Judaism taught her children to look upwards to the regenerating luminary, as in its strength and brightness it shone directly from heaven upon their hearts. Or is regeneration a blessing which no Jew, no disciple of John, no believer in Jesus before the Pentecost, no patriarch, no prophet enjoyed ? Is it more than the righteousness of faith which Abraham attained, more than the Divine communion of Moses, the rapturous devotion of the Psalmist, the evangelical spirit of Isaiah, the unbending integrity of Daniel, the incorruptible fidelity of John, or the sanctity of the ancient martyrs, of whom the world was not worthy, could ever attain ? These men were surely born of the Spirit ; although not baptized, they were surely regenerated. If they of whom the world was not worthy, through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises, died in triumph, and entered the heavenly country, of what inward grace of the Spirit were they destitute ? If they were regenerated without baptism, why may not we be affected in the same manner by the power of the same truth ? Or if they entered heaven without regeneration, what is the worth of the

grace, which to the unbaptized of the old economy was not a qualification for their entrance into glory? We are told that through baptism is conferred the remission of sins. Were not their sins forgiven them? We are told that through the same sacrament is imparted the Holy Spirit; had not the Psalmist who, in his penitence, prayed, "Take not thy Holy Spirit from me," received that gift, although he was unbaptized? Be this as it may, we take our stand, preparatory to our next lecture, upon the ground conceded by our opponents, that there was no sacrament of regeneration in the ancient economy.

It will be observed that our reasoning upon the concession that the baptism of John did not impart the grace of regeneration, neither assumes nor denies the essential difference between his baptism and that of Christ. We have only cleared the ground so far as to show that there was, previously to the resurrection of Christ, no regenerating sacrament, no such thing as regeneration in all the world, if that grace is invariably conveyed through a sacramental channel. But if the baptism of John was truly and essentially the same as Christian baptism, then Christian baptism itself, at its commencement, was only a symbol, and not a means of regeneration. Hence the inquiry becomes of some interest, whether there was, or was not, an essential difference between the baptism administered by John, and that instituted by our Lord? To prevent any dispute about terms, we think the question may be better proposed in this form: Was the difference between the baptism of John and that of our Lord so important, that those who had been baptized by John, were, or ought to have been, rebaptized on their becoming the disciples of Christ? That there was some variation in the form, or at least in the words employed, there can be no doubt whatever; but we should say the difference was or was not essential, according as it appears that the parties were or were not rebaptized, or that the

objects of Christian baptism were not sufficiently accomplished by the baptism of John. This question was deemed of considerable importance in the controversies of the Reformation, and was zealously prosecuted by the disputants on both sides. The Catholics, following antiquity, maintained the essential difference; the Reformers, adhering as they thought to Scripture, denied it. The early Lutherans seemed to have wavered—Luther at first agreeing with the Catholics, afterwards asserting that the baptism of John did not much differ from that of Christ. They, however, seem to have eventually adopted the theory which Zuingli, Calvin, Beza, and all the Calvinists zealously defended. The Council of Trent pronounced its first anathema respecting baptism upon the heresy of maintaining the validity of John's baptism.

It may be asked why the Calvinists should have universally and zealously denied, and the Catholics as universally and zealously maintained, the essential difference, and why both parties should have thought it to be a subject of so much importance in their controversy? On each side it was perceived, that if the baptism of John sufficed for all Christians who had received it, as all acknowledged that it had no spiritual gift of regeneration, the doctrine of sacramental efficacy, the endowment of the life-giving Spirit in baptism, could not be sustained, without direct opposition to the facts of the evangelical history. John's baptism, said the Catholics, as say the Tractarians, was only an emblem of Christian baptism; but the sign could not have sufficed for the substance, the mere baptism with water could not have been identical with the baptism of the Holy Ghost. As all admit John had not the Holy Ghost to confer, it is evident that if his disciples were not rebaptized in the Christian church, a baptism which was confessedly not regeneration, was deemed sufficient in the apostolic age; and if the parties were regenerated at all, it must have been by some process distinct from

their baptism. The whole doctrine of baptismal regeneration, with all its important consequences, was therefore in imminent peril, unless its supporters could prove the essential difference which we believe they never did prove; and although the defenders of baptismal regeneration have not, since the Reformation, until the recent controversy in the Church of England, very often directed their attention to the subject, the Tractarians, as we think, have not been more successful than the Romanists.

John baptized; the disciples of Jesus baptized during his ministry; the apostles baptized after his resurrection. Were these baptisms essentially different, or if different in form, were they identical in their design and import? The several persons are said to have done the same thing. It, therefore, devolves upon those who maintain that their baptisms were different, to show the difference, and upon us to examine the particulars which they adduce.

Here we at once concede, that the nearly uniform testimony of Christian antiquity is in favour of the essential difference. Those who believed in the impartation of spiritual gifts in baptism, as the Fathers did, would naturally and of course adopt this opinion. Although some of them thought that John's baptism procured the remission of sins, yet they supposed this remission was granted without the communication of the Holy Ghost; while others maintained that it was only to be expected on their being afterwards brought to Christian baptism. With those, therefore, who are guided in their belief by Catholic antiquity, its testimony will be conclusive, for on few subjects is it more uniform; but as the same authority will peremptorily enforce baptismal regeneration, we who do not receive that doctrine, must require some confirmation of even the unanimous testimony of the early Fathers.

The ancients appealed to Scripture, and their followers in modern times cite the same texts. These texts, therefore, we are bound to read and seriously consider.



The passage so often cited by the Fathers, as well as by theologians of the Anglo-Catholic school, is Matthew iii. 2. "Thus," says Dr. Pusey, "the inferiority of the baptism of John to Christian baptism, is declared by the holy baptist himself: 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I . . . He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire.'"\* We certainly admit, without a moment's hesitation, that there is a great and essential difference between baptism with water and baptism with the Holy Ghost. About this there ought to be no controversy; our inquiry properly refers to baptism by water as administered by John, and baptism by water as solemnized by the ministers of Christ. The words of the contrast, with water in one instance, with the Holy Ghost in the other, suggests the inference that John did not refer to baptism by water at all, when he spoke of the work of Christ. The full force of the expression seems to be, He shall baptize, not with water as I do, but with a more sacred influence, the Holy Ghost; with a mightier and more searching purification, with fire. To us, believing as we do that there is a baptism of the Holy Ghost without water, a cleansing of the soul by his purifying influence, an administration of the Spirit by Jesus upon his earliest disciples in a visible and miraculous manner, and upon all his people by an internal and life-giving process, according to the words of the apostle, "Being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, he hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear;" the passage appears most clearly to exhibit the distinction between the visible and the spiritual, the earthly and the heavenly baptism, but not between the baptism of John and that of the Christian church.

Dr. Pusey, citing the words of Zuingle in proof of the

\* Tracts for the Times, No. 67.



identity of the two baptisms, because they were both signs of the same thing, and neither of them conveyed any spiritual blessing, appends notes of admiration, as if he were astonished that any one in this controversy should suppose that Christian baptism conveyed no spiritual blessing. "‘The baptism of John worked nothing,’ says Zuingle. (‘I speak here,’ he adds, ‘of the baptism of water, and not of the internal bedewing which takes place through the Spirit;) the baptism of Christ works nothing, for Christ was content with the baptism of John, both for himself and his disciples, whereas had his baptism had anything fuller, he could have baptized the disciples a second time, and not allowed himself to be baptized with the baptism of John!!!’" So Dr. Pusey cites Zuingle, and remarks, "It being settled on such grounds that the baptism of our Lord has no inward grace, the baptisms could not but be the same, *i. e.* alike empty in themselves, and but appendages of the same teaching." If Zuingle assumes that they were both only signs, and so by a *petitio principii* proves their identity, Dr. Pusey, in his application of the text, assumes that one of them was not a mere sign, with three notes of admiration to aid his logic, and so from that *petitio principii* proves the essential difference.

That the promise, He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, does not refer to baptism with water, may be not only inferred from the contrast, but proved from a passage which Dr. Pusey cites in defence of his own opinion. He says,\* "This difference our Lord also inculcated at the same time that he instituted his own baptism. ‘John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost *not many days hence.*’" By what unfortunate mistake—in what moment of strange forgetfulness Dr. Pusey, whose memory is not usually treacherous, could have cited this passage in proof of his doctrine, I cannot imagine. It most evidently proves, that the bap-

\* Tracts of the Times, No. 67, p. 244.

tism of the Holy Ghost was not connected with water baptism at all, therefore was not baptism as administered by the disciples of Jesus. John baptized *with water*; *without water* the apostles were baptized by the Holy Ghost; the visible sign of their purification was not water, but fire. The "not many days hence" was the phrase which announced the approach of the Pentecost. How was it possible to cite this passage without being convinced that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was essentially distinct from all immersions or effusions of water by whomsoever administered,—that it was shed down abundantly upon the apostles on the day of Pentecost, when no water was employed,—and that therefore the words of John, "he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," must be understood, not in connexion, but in contrast with baptism by water? It would be an extraordinary trope, a most licentious use of a figure, to speak of any baptism of water as a baptism by fire. Though many of the Fathers explain this fire to be the invisible flame, which in baptism consumes sin in the heart, yet others, as Cyril of Jerusalem, refer it to the fiery tongues of the Pentecost; others, as Hilary, to the fire which shall purify the righteous in the day of judgment; and others, as Irenæus and Tertullian, to the fire of hell. With any one of these three expositions, it is impossible to apply this passage to the sacrament of the Christian church. With any exposition whatsoever, it is impossible to find water in the baptism of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost.

That the persons who maintain the doctrine of baptismal regeneration should cite the words of John, as a proof of the essential difference, is no very wonderful misapplication; as with them the identity of the baptism of the Holy Ghost and Christian baptism is always assumed; but that Mr. Hall, in his Terms of Communion, should cite the passage for the same purpose, appears to me a most extraordinary and unaccountable fact. As he has

constructed an argument in defence of the essential difference, with far more popular effect than any of the Catholic or Tractarian doctors, it might be thought an evasion of the question, were I not to notice the reasons which he assigns, although my object has reference not to the controversy on the terms of communion, but to the older and more important controversy on the terms of salvation. Whatever charge of presumption I may incur, I see not how I can escape, without incurring the heavier charge of unfairness in selecting Dr. Pusey, through fear of Mr. Hall, who, although the champion of another division, fights in the front of this fray with his sharp arrows of winged words, likely to do much more execution than all the heavy artillery of the apostolical polemics. He says, "The baptism instituted by our Lord is in Scripture distinguished from that of his forerunner by the superior effects with which it was accompanied; so that instead of being confounded, they are contrasted in the sacred writings."\* If they are contrasted in the sacred writings, we must of course admit them to be essentially distinct; but where is the contrast to be found? Mr. Hall cites for his proof the words, "I baptize you with water unto repentance, but there cometh one after me, mightier than I: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." If the eloquent apologist for communion with the unbaptized believed the identity of the baptism of the Holy Ghost with his own immersion, the contrast would be sufficiently manifest; but how with his acknowledged principles he could have adduced this passage, it is not for me to hazard a conjecture. Yet he does make it the basis of an argument, and proceeds with the illustration, until indeed at the close of his reasoning, this baptism of the Holy Ghost becomes only a frequent accompaniment of Christian baptism, which however we believe to have been a very infrequent accompaniment. The whole church at Rome, for

\* Terms of Communion, p. 20.

instance, was doubtless baptized, but as no apostle had visited them when St. Paul wrote his epistle to the Romans, they do not appear to have received the spiritual gifts which he desired to impart. Mr. Hall concludes his reasoning on this passage in these words: "Since the baptism of the Holy Ghost, or the *copious effusion* of spiritual influence in which primitive Christians, so to speak, *were immersed*, was appointed to follow the sacramental use of water under the Christian economy, while the same corporeal action performed by John was a naked ceremony, not accompanied by any such effects; this difference betwixt them is sufficient to account for their being contrasted in Scripture, and ought to have prevented their being confounded as one and the same institute." But where in Scripture is the baptism of the Holy Ghost appointed to follow the sacramental use of water? Where is the effusion of the Holy Ghost represented as an essential element, or even as a frequent accompaniment of Christian baptism? In other words, was not every baptism which Mr. Hall administered, the same corporeal action as that performed by John, "a naked ceremony," as he calls it, unaccompanied by any Divine power? or was it invariably followed by the copious effusion of spiritual influence? If this be the essential difference, baptism, as he administered it, and as all men now administer it, (unless the Catholic doctrine of baptismal regeneration be true,) is essentially defective; is, in short, not Christian baptism, but only the "naked ceremony" of John. Even the accidental distinction of the effusion of the Holy Spirit was not uniform, for at least on one occasion the Spirit descended after baptism administered by John, while on most occasions it did not fall on those baptized by the early Christians. In direct opposition to the opinion of Mr. Hall, that "the copious effusion of spiritual influence was appointed to follow the sacramental use of water," it is to be observed, that the apostles were not exclusively,



nor even generally the persons who administered Christian baptism, and yet they exclusively had the power of imparting spiritual gifts. Baptism was not the office of St. Paul: "Christ sent me not to baptize;" and yet the communication of spiritual gifts was an important part of his work, the proper credential of his office, for which he longed to visit the churches on which the Spirit had not been poured down. Not commissioned to baptize, he makes the impartation of the Spirit the chief and manifest proof of his apostleship. That Divine effusion could have accompanied the baptismal rite only in the comparatively very few instances in which it was administered by an apostle; and even then upon some persons, as upon Cornelius and his friends, the Holy Ghost fell before they were baptized. Very few comparatively could have been the instances of the effusion of the Spirit as the accompaniment of Christian baptism; rather ought it to be called the accompaniment of the imposition of the apostles' hands, which might have been, and often was, performed many years after the baptism of the parties. I have insisted upon this point somewhat at length, because I am aware that any argument adduced by Mr. Hall has great weight with many persons, as it always deserves the most serious consideration; but surely in this instance, sophistry has contrived to plume herself, and not very dexterously, with the splendour of his eloquence. As to his citations from the Fathers, they would be quite consistent from the pens of those who believe the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, but are of no value whatever to those who, with himself, deny that doctrine.\*

\* I am grieved to learn, that in the delivery of this lecture, I was understood by some persons to ascribe to Mr. Hall the opinions of the Tractarians. Nothing was more remote from my intention. Mr. Hall agreed with them and with the Catholics on the one question of the essential difference, and in his reasoning employs the arguments which they generally adduce. In this paragraph I notice the apparent inconsistency of one of his arguments with his own evangelical theology, without for a moment imputing to him the smallest deviation from that theology.



It becomes necessary to notice the other distinctions which Mr. Hall has adduced in proof of the essential difference between the baptism of John and that of our blessed Lord. The first particular is, that Christian baptism originated in the express command of Christ, and John's baptism had no such origin. But how does this prove the essential difference between them? how does it prove that such as were baptized by John ought to have been rebaptized by the apostles? The foundation is too small for the superstructure. John had a Divine commission to baptize, as well as the apostles. Jesus said, "I and my Father are one." However mysterious may be the unity, it is surely sufficient to sustain the conclusion, that an ordinance observed on the authority of the Father, is not superseded by a similar command of the Son. The Father sent both John and Jesus; and Jesus in commanding his disciples to baptize, "did nothing of himself but what he had seen the Father do."

The second particular is thus expressed: "The baptism of John was the baptism of repentance, as a preparation for the approaching kingdom of God: the institute of Christ included an explicit profession of faith in a particular person as the Lord of that kingdom." Admitting the correctness of this account of Christian baptism, about which Pædobaptists may hold a different opinion, the difference is resolved into baptism previous to the public announcement of Jesus as the promised Messiah, and baptism subsequent to that announcement. John baptized because the kingdom of heaven was approaching; the apostles, because it was announced. But why should the announcement of the kingdom of Christ invalidate the baptism of its precursor? Is it credible that the event which proved the truth of John's baptism, and conferred upon it all its importance, should in the same moment nullify its significance, and require from its possessors a second ablution? Had the kingdom of heaven not speedily come,

John's baptism would have been a falsity ; but the coming of that kingdom confirmed and established it. St. Paul tells us, that " John baptized, saying, that they should believe on him that should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus." If so, is it credible that his baptism should have become invalid, just at the moment when the opportunity was afforded to his disciples of fulfilling the requisition of their teacher and the engagement of their baptism? That John baptized merely into the general belief of the coming of a Messiah is not to be credited, because that was no new thing in Israel, but the universal doctrine of the Pharisees, of the Sadducees, and of every sect of the Jews. He baptized in the name of one coming after him, soon to be declared. His baptism was so far specific, and the appearance of the particular individual confirmed and vindicated its truth.

The third particular is nearly connected with the second : " Christian baptism," says Mr. Hall, " was invariably administered in the name of Jesus, while there is sufficient evidence that John's was not performed in that name." John baptized, saying to the people that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. The actual appearance of Christ did not change the object of faith, but revealed it with additional clearness, caused it to emerge from the shadowy horizon of prophecy into the conspicuous altitude of present existence. There was a difference of circumstances, but surely no essential difference in the mere distinction of the name of the same person. Besides, by those who maintain the essential difference, the disciples of Jesus during his personal ministry are said to have baptized with a baptism of the same kind as that of John, and not with Christian baptism. So say all, I believe, from Tertullian down to Dr. Pusey, Fathers, Roman Catholics, and Anglo-Catholics ; but is it credible that the disciples of Jesus did not baptize in the name of their Master, then present with them ? If they baptized in his

name, this difference of the coming one and of him come could not have been essential, for none maintain the essential difference between the baptism of John and the baptism of the disciples of Jesus during his personal ministry, to which, as this argument equally applies, it proves too much.

The fourth particular is that which we have already noticed, the difference between baptism with water and baptism with the Holy Ghost, and which, as we have seen, depends entirely upon the controversy on baptismal regeneration.

The fifth particular is deduced from the supposed rebaptism of John's disciples. Here we must acknowledge, if it can be clearly demonstrated that St. Paul, or any other inspired teacher, knowingly rebaptized any who had duly and properly received the baptism of John, the essential difference is incontrovertibly proved. We turn therefore to the nineteenth chapter of the Acts: "It came to pass while Apollos was at Corinth, Paul passing through the upper coasts, came to Ephesus; and finding certain disciples, he said unto them, Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed? And they said unto him, We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost. And he said unto them, Unto what then were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism. Then said Paul, John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on Him that should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus." That these twelve men were rebaptized must, I think, be candidly acknowledged. Many ingenious suggestions, I know, have been offered by the reformers, in order to escape the conclusion. Thus Zuingle supposes, that by John's baptism we are to understand the doctrine of John, and not the actual baptism of water. Into what were ye instructed? Into John's

doctrine. Calvin thinks that they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, yet not by water, but by the effusion of the Holy Ghost, when Paul laid his hands upon them. Others say, that the words, "when they heard this, they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus," mean, when they heard Paul's account of John's baptism into the name of Him that was to come, their previous baptism became to them, or was in their estimation, without a repetition of the rite, baptism into the name of the Lord Jesus. Beza contends, that the words, "when they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus," are the words of Paul, and not of the historian; meaning, that the disciples of John were, on hearing their master's testimony in favour of Him that was to come, baptized virtually into the name of the Lord Jesus. The reformers were versatile with many weapons in fighting these twelve Jews, but their weapons broke in their hands; and we must confess, these disciples of the eloquent Apollos constitute the most formidable phalanx in this engagement, without whose aid neither Tractarians nor open communionists could do much to damage the credit of John's baptism. The opinion of Beza has been followed by many Protestant expositors, both Lutheran and reformed. The critical reason assigned, is the contrariety implied in the two Greek particles, *μέν* and *δέ*. "He, on the one hand, baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying to the people, that they should believe on Him that was to come, that is, on the Lord Jesus: the hearers, on the other hand, were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus." But not to insist upon the unmeaning repetition, the only difference of the two members of the contrast being, that John baptized in the name of Him that was to come, and his hearers were baptized in that name; this *μέν*, the single particle on which all this exposition depends, is itself a most suspicious



ous pretender of a few manuscripts.\* If this particle be not genuine, the criticism of Beza and his followers must be abandoned with it. But if we believe, that these twelve men were rebaptized by St. Paul, it may be asked, how do we escape the conclusion that the disciples of John were baptized a second time by the apostles? I acknowledge the difficulty. Let us observe the connexion of the passage, and if we cannot escape the conclusion that these men were baptized by John, and rebaptized by Paul, we must resign this fact as one argument against us, which is not damaged on examination. The question is suggested, were they baptized by John or his disciples previously to the death of Christ, or were they subsequently baptized by Apollos, in his ignorance of the death of Christ, after the manner of John's baptism?

"It came to pass when Apollos was in Corinth." These words suggest the inquiry, why the absence of Apollos should be mentioned, and what connexion he had with the narrative? Had he no connexion with it, the mention of his name would be superfluous and trifling. This clause connects the chapter with the preceding, and by its aid we correct the unfortunate interruption of the narrative by an inappropriate division. Of Apollos it is said a few verses before, "Being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing," and therefore administering, "only the baptism of John." To know only the baptism of John, seems to intimate that he was acquainted with Jesus, as the Messiah whom John announced, but not with his death and resurrection. This man, having been a disciple of John, and believing his testimony, that Jesus was the one mightier than he, preached with great power and success the religion of John, before he was taught the way of the Lord more per-

\* Griesbach's note is, " $\mu\epsilon\nu$  = A B D. 15, 18, 40, 66, \* \* 69. Aiii Mt. 1. Copt. Vulg. cant." Being rejected by the Alexandrian, the Vatican and the Cambridge manuscripts, (the codex Ephrem is mutilated in this passage,) it cannot be acknowledged of good authority.



fectly by Aquila and Priscilla, probably giving prominence to the great doctrine of the Baptist, that Jesus was the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world. Imperfectly acquainted with the Gospel, he baptized his disciples after the manner which John employed, probably as John had done, unto the profession of repentance, preparatory to the reception of the Messiah. But if this form of baptism were proper and valid, as we believe it was, when administered before the resurrection of Jesus, for the apostles and early disciples had no other, it was manifestly improper, if so administered subsequently to that event. Apollos might have most firmly believed that Jesus was the Christ, and yet, when he baptized these men, have known nothing of his death and resurrection, as he was residing at a great distance from Judea, and knew nothing of the effusion of the Holy Ghost. Had they been converted by any other ministry, it is not probable they would have been ignorant of the existence of the Holy Ghost. What teacher who knew the things which had been done at Jerusalem, would have said nothing of the effusion of the Pentecost, nothing of the baptism of the Spirit? Apollos knew not this baptism. St. Paul says, "John indeed baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying that they should believe on Him who should come after him, that is, on Christ Jesus." It was therefore the only proper baptism for his time. But sufficient as was its administration during the life of our Lord, so that none who then received it, so far as we know, were rebaptized; it was not suitable after his resurrection, and therefore the disciples of Apollos were rebaptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. It is remarkable we do not read that Apollos himself, who had received John's baptism, was rebaptized, when taught the way of the Lord more perfectly. It may be said I cannot prove all these particulars, but their probability, even their possibility, is sufficient for my purpose. It must be shown, that these twelve men were baptized,

not by Apollos, but by some one previously to the death of our Lord, to establish the invalidity of John's baptism; but the aspect of the narrative being opposed to such a supposition, suggests the opinion that they were the disciples of Apollos; and if Apollos, knowing only the baptism of John, baptized these men in ignorance of the resurrection of Christ, (and who shall say he did not?) the argument against us falls to pieces. Before these twelve men can prove the essential difference, they must show that the register of their first baptism is dated previously to the death of Christ.

This exposition, I admit, was not usual in the ancient church; yet even there, prevalent as was the opinion that John's baptism was not valid, on account of the absence of the Holy Ghost, it was not without its advocates. In Photius, we have an account of the books of Eulogius, archbishop of Alexandria, in the fifth century, against the Novatians; and we find him furnishing this exposition in defence of his opinion, that the baptism of John was perfect before the resurrection of Jesus.\* I, however, admit the difficulty, and must acknowledge I am not quite satisfied with the solution. If these persons were baptized before the death of Christ, the essential difference is certainly established.

The sixth particular is founded on the probability that of the multitude baptized on the day of Pentecost, some had been previously baptized by John. To this I reply, the multitudes baptized by John were of Jerusalem and Judea, and the country round about Jordan. The thousands baptized at the Pentecost were devout men, sojourning in Jerusalem out of every nation under heaven. There is no reason to suppose that many of these sojourners were in Jerusalem, when John baptized three years before. To say that any one had been baptized by John is a gratuitous assumption.

\* See Appendix B.

Neither the apostles, nor the first disciples who were Christians at the resurrection, were rebaptized; but if such rebaptism were proper, it would have been peculiarly fitting that they, like their Divine Master, should have suffered it, to fulfil all righteousness. Is it credible that the first preachers of the Christian faith should have considered themselves exempted from the obligation of submitting to its initiatory rite? \* My chief anxiety, however, is to maintain that Jesus was baptized with the same baptism as his people. The founder of our faith submitted to the rule of his own religion. If the effusion of the Spirit was the sign of true baptism, in this instance it attested the baptism of John. Admitting the difficulties, I adhere to the faith that Christians are baptized with the baptism with which Christ was baptized.

Another inquiry is suggested respecting the baptism of John. Did he, or did he not, baptize the young children of such as attended his ministry? In the evangelical narrative, we have no direct information upon this subject. Our opponents will protest against our assuming that he did baptize infants, and we must with equal deci-

\* The Fathers are sadly perplexed in attempting to discover the baptism of the apostles, and to rescue them from the great peril of perdition, being unbaptized. Tertullian protests he had heard over-scrupulous people, or rather unscrupulous, question how salvation could belong to the unbaptized apostles. Chrysostom and others think they were baptized by John with water, and afterwards with the Holy Ghost—the one baptism of the church being administered to them in two parts, first with water and afterwards with the Spirit. (Hom. i. in Act. § 5.) He, however, seems elsewhere to hint they were baptized with water at different times, a strangely anabaptistical opinion. Augustine says they were baptized by our Lord with water, (Ep. 265. § 5;) others thought they were baptized when they were sprinkled with the waves in the ship; others, when their feet were washed by our Lord; though the Fathers generally, with equal reason, say that they had been previously baptized, and, therefore, our Lord would not wash the hands and head of Peter, saying, "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." Clement of Alexandria, in a fragment of the fifth book of the Hypotyposes preserved by Moschus, says, Christ baptized Peter only; Peter, Andrew; Andrew, James and John; and they, the other apostles. (See Bp. of Lincoln's Clement of Alexandria, p. 442.)

sion protest against their assuming, from the silence of the evangelists, that he did not. As the promise of the Messiah was made to the whole house of Israel in its national character, it would seem probable, that the whole nation, and not a part only, was entitled to receive the sign of his coming. The infants of Israel had the same interest in the promise of the Messiah as the adults. When we consider that other religious rites of a national character were, according to the Jewish law, performed for infants as well as for their parents; this probability is greatly increased, for why should John for the first time distinguish parents from children in the religious rites of the Jews? Judaism was not then abolished; the principles of Mosaic law flourished with unabated vigour: with its spirit, every new ceremonial must have been accordant; but nothing can be imagined more anti-Mosaic, more contrary to the spirit or letter of the law, than the separation of parents and children in the new rite of purification. Of Israel, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, and all that was represented by the baptism of John, the sign of his coming, concerned the whole house of Israel. Why should we restrict the representation to a part only? Preparatory to the descent of God on Sinai, Moses purified all the people, not the adults only. Why should we not suppose that preparatory to the coming of the Son of God, John baptized *all* Judea, and *all* Jerusalem, and *all* the region round about, and not the adults only? I admit we may restrict this general description to adults, *if there be good reason for doing so*; but what good reason can be adduced for any such restriction? To say it is improbable that infants were included, is a perfectly gratuitous assumption, which, although many assumptions as gratuitous have been conceded in this controversy, I trust we are not so foolish as to allow without protest. Under a dispensation of Judaism the religious ordinances were of a national character, without reference to age or



class; and is it probable that a restriction was, for the first time, introduced into a service which proclaimed to the whole house of Israel the speedy accomplishment of the promise to which every infant was indubitably the heir?

That John baptized only the select few, who truly and devoutly waited for the consolation of Israel, is a position which, as we have seen, cannot be maintained consistently with the evangelical history. By his preaching considerable excitement was produced, so that vast numbers held him to be a prophet and crowded to his baptism. Nor have we the slightest intimation of any person whatsoever having been refused baptism by the precursor of our Lord. But if the baptism of John was indiscriminately administered to all applicants, even to those whom the administrator knew to be ungodly and impenitent, and if this was done during the continuance of a national dispensation of religion which made no difference in its ritual between parents and children, as it did not between the pious and the profane, but regarded the whole house of Israel as its object, is it at all probable that the children of that nation were excluded from the great national sign of the advent of Christ?

If in the last lecture I succeeded in showing that it is exceedingly probable, if not morally certain, that the infant children of proselytes to Judaism were baptized with their parents, the presumption in favour of infant baptism as administered by John, is so far confirmed. If the Jews were accustomed to see infants baptized with their parents, in an age when proselytes to the faith were very numerous, they would naturally take their children to be baptized with themselves by the preacher of the kingdom of heaven. Of John's baptism I am fairly entitled to say, that it was certainly not believer's baptism, not baptism administered on account of any pious dispositions belonging, or supposed to belong, to the parties



baptized,—that it was the baptism of all classes and parties—Pharisees and Sadducees—publicans and soldiers—upon the principle that the whole nation was to be purified by a ceremonial of ablution preparatory to the coming of the Messiah.

## APPENDIX TO LECTURE IV.

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A. Page 140.

MR. FABER'S CITATIONS FROM THE FATHERS ON THE SACRAMENTAL  
IDENTITY OF CIRCUMCISION AND BAPTISM.

I FULLY admit that Augustine at times held the sacramental identity of circumcision and baptism. Mr. Faber's citations seem to imply so much, but he has overlooked the more direct and satisfactory proofs. Instead of introducing passages which only imply the opinion of Augustine, and which may be met by passages apparently of an opposite tendency, he might have adduced the direct assertion of that Father: "*Dominus Christus in ecclesiâ suâ sacramentum Novi Testamenti pro circumcisione carnis sanctum baptismum dedit.*"—Aug. Ep. 108. I fear, however, this passage must have involved the saint together with Mr. Faber in the anathema of the council of Trent. I wonder the Benedictines did not suppress the passage, and conceal the anathematized heresy of the canonized divine. For Catholic casuists it is a curious inquiry: if their infallible church both anathematize and canonize the same man, what becomes of him?

Omitting, therefore, the citations from Augustine, as his opinions on baptism require a more prolonged examination than this note will allow, I adduce the passages by which Mr. Faber seeks to prove that "the sacramental identity of circumcision under the law, and of baptism under the Gospel, was, from the first, a ruled case of interpretation." From Chrysostom he cites, "*Ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα περιτομή ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, λέγω, χάρις, δωδύκων ἔχει τὴν ἰατρίαν, καὶ μυρίων ἀγαθῶν πρόξενον γίνεται ἡμῖν, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος ἡμᾶς ἐμπύπλησι χάριτος. Καὶ οὐδὲ ὀρισμένον ἔχει καιρὸν, καθάπερ ἐκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἔξεστι, καὶ ἐν ἀσπρῇ ἡλικίᾳ, καὶ ἐν μύσῃ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ γῆρᾳ, γενόμενον τινα, ταύτην δέξασθαι τὴν ὀχαιοποιήσαν περιτομήν.*"—Chrysost. in Gen. Homil. xl.

He translates, "Our circumcision, I am speaking of the grace of

baptism, affords a cure free from pain, and is to us the administration of ten thousand blessings, and fills us with the grace of the Holy Spirit. Nor, as was the case with circumcision under the law, has it any set time; but, in infancy, and in middle age, and in old age, any one is alike permitted to receive the circumcision not made with hands."

This passage seems intended to establish the very opposite opinion to that for which it is cited,—the contrast, rather than the identity of baptism and circumcision; as one is, and the other is not, "a cure free from pain," "the administration of ten thousand blessings," filling us "with the grace of the Holy Spirit."

From Athanasius, "*Ἡ γὰρ περιτομή οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐδήλου, ἢ τὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἀπέκδυσιν. Τὸν γὰρ τῇ ἑκτῇ ἀποθανόντα ἀπεκδεδυσκόμεθα· καὶ ἀνακαινούμεθα τῇ κυριακῇ, ὅτεδ' παλαιὸς ἀπεκδυθείς ἀνεγεννήθη τῇ ἀναστάσει. Τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἔφη ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κολοσσεῖς· Ἐν ᾧ καὶ περιετμήθητε περιτομῇ ἀχειροποιήτῳ ἐν τῇ ἀπεκδύσει τοῦ σώματος τῆς σαρκὸς, ἐν τῇ περιτομῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, συντάφεντες αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνηγέρθητε. Τῆς γὰρ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀπεκδύσεως τύπος ἦν ἡ περιτομή.—Πιστεύσας γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἔλαβε τὴν περιτομήν, σημεῖον οὖσαν τῆς διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀναγεννήσεως.*"—Athan. de Sabbat. et. Circum. Oper. vol. i. p. 968.

"Circumcision sets forth nothing else than the putting off the natural birth; for we put off him who on the sixth day died as to the flesh; and we are renewed on the Lord's day, when the old man, being unclothed, was born again by the resurrection. This is it, which Paul speaketh to the Colossians: "In whom ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ; buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him. Circumcision, therefore, was the type of putting off sin through baptism; for Abraham, having believed, received circumcision, which was the sign of regeneration through baptism."

Here circumcision is only the sign of regeneration through baptism, but not like baptism the medium of regeneration. The two are clearly distinguished.

From Cyprian, "*Quantum vero ad causam infantium pertinet, quos dixisti intra secundum vel tertium diem, quo nati sint, constitutos, baptizari non oportere, et considerandam esse legem circumcisionis antiquæ, ut intra octavum diem eum qui natus est baptizandum et sacrificandum non putares; longè aliud, in concilio nostro, omnibus visum est. In hoc enim, quod tu putabas esse faciendum, nemo consensit; sed universi potius judicavimus, nulli hominum nato*

miseri cordiam Dei et gratiam denegandam. . . Nam, quod in Judaica circumcissione carnali octavus dies observabatur, sacramentum est in umbra atque in imagine antepremissum, sed veniente Christo, veritate completum. Nam, quia octavus dies, id est, post sabbatum primus dies, futurus erat, quo Dominus resurgeret et nos vivificaret, et circumcissionem nobis spiritalem daret : hic dies octavus, id est, post sabbatum primus et dominicus, præcessit in imagine, quæ imago cessavit, superveniente postmodum veritate, et data nobis spiritali circumcissione.”—Cyprian. Epist. lix. Oper. vol. ii. p. 160, 161.

“So far as respects the matter of infants, concerning whom you have said, that those who are only two or three days old ought not to be baptized ; and that the law of ancient circumcision ought to be considered ; in agreement with which a child, in your opinion, ought not to be baptized and sanctified before he had attained the eighth day ; a far different judgment was given by all in our council. No one consented to what you thought fitting to be done ; but on the contrary, we all judged that the mercy and grace of God ought not to be denied to any person born of man. For, as to the observation of the eighth day in the circumcision of the flesh, according to the Jewish law, that ordinance is a sacrament, appointed beforehand in shadow and in image, but completed in truth at the coming of Christ. The eighth day, that is, the first day after the Sabbath, was about to be that on which the Lord would rise again, and would confer upon us true life, and would give unto us the spiritual circumcision. Therefore this eighth day, the first and the Lord’s day after the Sabbath, went before in an image, which image ceased, when the truth afterwards supervened, and when spiritual circumcision was given unto us.”

Here the ancient sacrament, the carnal circumcision, is distinctly opposed to the spiritual circumcision or baptism given to us, not identified with it.

From Justin Martyr, “*Ἡ δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς περιτομῆς, κελεύουσα τῇ ὁγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ παντὸς περιτέμνειν τὰ γεννώμενα, τύπος ἦν τῆς ἀληθινῆς περιτομῆς, ἣν περιετμήθημεν ἀπὸ τῆς πλάνης καὶ πονηρίας διὰ τοῦ ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ἡμέρᾳ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. Μία γὰρ τῶν σαββάτων, πρώτη μένουσα τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν, κατὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάλιν τῶν πασῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς κυκλοφορίας, ὁγδόη καλεῖται, καὶ πρώτη οὕσα μένει.*”—Justin Mart. Dial. cum Tryp. Oper. p. 260.

“The commandment of circumcision, which enjoins that infants should always be circumcised on the eighth day, was a type of the true circumcision, with which we were circumcised from error and wickedness through Jesus Christ our Lord, who rose again from the

dead on the first day of the week ; for the first day of the week, remaining the first of all days, agreeably to the entire number of the days viewed as revolving in the hebdomadal cycle, is called the eighth, though it still remains the first."

Here, if by the true circumcision baptism be intended, it is the antitype of circumcision, and not sacramentally identical. If the true circumcision be sanctity of heart, there is no reference to baptism in the passage ; and that it is so, we infer from its being attributed to Enoch, Noah, and other unbaptized patriarchs.

Having noticed the citation from Justin Martyr, I have only to refer to the many allusions to the principal Jewish rites, especially to circumcision, the Sabbath, and the ablutions in the earlier part of the Dialogue with Trypho, to show that in the opinion of the Martyr there was no sacramental identity between circumcision and baptism. See from p. 31 to p. 124 of S. Just. Mar. Dial. ed. a Sam. Jebb ; corresponding, according to the margin, with pp. 227—262 of the Paris edition. Two extracts may suffice to show the opinion of Justin.

"Ἡ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ σάρκα περιτομὴ εἰς σημεῖον ἐδόθη, ἵνα ᾗτε ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἀφορισμένοι καὶ ἵνα μόνοι πάθητε, ἃ νῦν ἐν δίκῃ πάσχετε, καὶ ἵνα γένωνται αἱ χῶραι ὑμῶν ἔρημοι καὶ αἱ πόλεις πυρίκαυστοι. . . . Οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς γνωρίζεσθε παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, ἧ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν σαρκὶ ὑμῶν περιτομῆς."

"The circumcision according to the flesh received from Abraham was given to you for a sign, that you might be distinguished from other nations and from us, and that you alone might suffer what things you justly suffer, and that your lands might be desolate, and your cities burnt. . . . For you are distinguished from other men by nothing else than by the circumcision in your flesh."—Dial. c. Tryp. p. 49. Jebb, p. 234. Paris.

"Οὐ γὰρ πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖα αὕτη ἡ περιτομὴ, ἀλλ' ὑμῖν μόνοις, ἵνα, ὡς προέφην, ταῦτα πάθητε ἃ νῦν ἐν δίκῃ πάσχετε. . . . καὶ ὑμεῖς μὲν, οἱ τὴν σάρκα περιτετμημένοι, χρῆζετε τῆς ἡμετέρας περιτομῆς, ἡμεῖς δὲ ταύτην ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἐκείνης δεόμεθα."

"For this circumcision is not necessary for all, but only for you, that, as I before said, you might suffer those things which you justly suffer . . . and you who are circumcised in the flesh, need our circumcision, but we, having this, are in no need of yours."—Dial. c. Tryp. p. 56, p. 236. Paris.

He proceeds to show that the patriarchs Adam, Abel, Enoch, Melchisedec, and others, had no need of circumcision.

Tertullian (adv. Judæos, c. 2, 3) reasons in the same manner that



circumcision did not purify the person; as Adam in paradise, and Abel offering his acceptable sacrifice; and Noah, and Enoch, and Melchisedec, were uncircumcised. See also Irenæus adv. Hær. iv. 30, a chapter written expressly to show why circumcision and the Sabbath were given to the Jews. Epiphanius represents the first circumcision as not perfect, but only a sign or type of the great circumcision completed in water.—Contra Ebion.

If I thought the Fathers ruled these cases, I should say, in opposition to Mr. Faber, it is "a ruled case of interpretation," Augustine being excepted, that circumcision and baptism are not sacramentally identical. The sacramental identity of the two ordinances must be hereafter examined on scriptural grounds.

### B. Page 159.

#### EULOGIUS OF ALEXANDRIA ON JOHN'S BAPTISM.

THE extract is from a part of the second book against the Novatians, preserved by Photius, in his Bibliotheca.

"Ὅτι δὲ τέλειον ἦν εἶλιν, φασί, καὶ ἐξ ὧν οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται τοὺς μαθητὰς τὸ παρὰ Ἰωάννου δεδεγμένους βάπτισμα ἀναβαπτίσας. Ἰησοῦς γὰρ, φησὶν, οὐδένα ἐβάπτισεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μαθηταί. Ἐξ ὧν πάλιν δῆλον ὅτι τέλειον ὑπῆρχε. Καὶ ὁ σωτὴρ δὲ βαπτισθῆναι αὐτὸ οὐκ ἀπαξιώσας, ὅτι τέλειον ἦν ἔδειξεν. Οὐκ αὐτὸς, ὡς δῆλον ἐστὶ, καθάρσεως δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ καθάριστον τῶν ὑδάτων γινόμενος, καὶ ἁγιασμός, καὶ τελείωσις, τοῖς τότε βαπτιζομένοις. Ἐισοδὸν δὲ οἱ τότε βαπτιζόμενοι τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν γνώσεως τὸ βάπτισμα παραδίδοντο. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ τοῦτο εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐβαπτίζοντο, ἐξήλθον λοιπὸν, τίς ὁ ἐρχόμενος; καὶ ζητοῦντες, εὗρισκόν τε καὶ ἐμαρτυροῦντο· καὶ προσίοντες τῷ σωτῇρι, οὐχ ἕτερον βάπτισμα προσελάμβανον, μόνον δὲ τὰς ἐντολάς προσεδέχοντο. Ἔως μὲν οὖν οὐδέπω ἐδοξάσθη διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, τέλειον ἦν τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ, οὐκέτι. Διὸ καὶ, τὸν Ἀπολλὼν βαπτισθέντα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου κατὰ τὸν ἀρμόζοντα καιρὸν, οἷδεῖς ἀνεβάπτισεν· ἀλλὰ Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκίλας κατὰ τὴν Ἐφεσον παραγεγονότα ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας τῆς πατρίδος προσελάβοντο μὲν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἐδίδασκαν τὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· βαπτίσαι δὲ οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν. Τοὺς μὲν τοῖ γε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βαπτισθέντας, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνοδὸν τῷ Ἰωάννου βαπτίσματι ἐβαπτίσθησαν· ὅτι οὐκέτι ἦν ἐρχόμενος ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλ' ἐληλυθὼς ἤδη καὶ πᾶσαν πεπληρωκὼς οἰκονομίαν, καὶ βάπτισμα δεδικὼς οἰκεῖον· εἰκότως τούτους εὐρὼν ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιόν ἐστιν ᾗδεισαν, τῷ δεσποτικῷ βαπτίσματι

παρεσκεύασεν ἀναβαπτισθῆναι. Πολλαχόθεν δὲ, φησὶν, ἐστὶ λάβεῖν, ὡς τέλειον ἦν τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα πρὸ τῆς παραδόσεως τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ. Καὶ γὰρ, φησὶν, ὁ σωτὴρ τῷ Ἰωάννου βαπτίσματι Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μαθητὰς βεβαπτισμένους, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ πάθους ἤξιώσε, τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων οὐκ ἂν μεταδοὺς τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῦ αἵματος, εἰ μὴ τέλειον αὐτοῖς τὸ Ἰωάννου ἐκεχάριστο βάπτισμα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτε Πέτρος παρητέτο τοὺς πόδας νίψασθαι, ἀκούει παρὰ τοῦ σωτῆρος ὁ λελουμένος, οὐ χρεῖαν ἔχει πάλιν λούσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἔστι καθαρὸς ὁλός· καὶ ὑμεῖς καθαροὶ ἐστε. Δι' ὧν καὶ ὅτι ὁ τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἐν καιρῷ βαπτισθεὶς βάπτισμα οὐ δεῖται δευτέρου βαπτίσματος, ἐπιδείκνυται· καὶ ὅτι δύναμιν εἶχε τοὺς βαβαπτισμένους αὐτὸ, ἀποφαίνειν καθαρούς. Ἀλλ' οὕτω μὲν ὁ Εὐλόγιος, τῶν πλείστων πατέρων ἀτελὲς δι' ὅλου τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα δεικνύντων.”—Eulogius contra Novatianos in Photii Bibliotheca, cclxxx.

“And that it (John’s baptism) was perfect, he says, is manifest, because he never appears rebaptizing the disciples who had received baptism from John. For Jesus, he says, baptized no one but his disciples. Whence again it is manifest that it was perfect; for since the Saviour did not disdain to be baptized with it, he shows that it was perfect; he himself, as is evident, needing no purification, but being made a purification of the waters, and sanctification and perfection to those who were then baptized. Those indeed who were then baptized received their baptism for an introduction to the knowledge of Christ. For when they were baptized in His name who was to come, they henceforth inquired who he was who was to come, and inquiring, they found and were instructed, and going to the Saviour, received no other baptism, but only received his commandments. So long as Christ was not yet glorified on the cross, the baptism of John was perfect, but not any longer. Wherefore Apollos being baptized by John at the proper season, no one rebaptized; but Priscilla and Aquila received him, having come from Alexandria to Ephesus, and taught him the things of the Lord Jesus Christ more perfectly, but they did not venture to baptize him. But those baptized by him, because they were baptized after the ascent of the Lord to heaven with John’s baptism, since Christ was no longer about to come, but had come already and accomplished all his dispensation, and had given his own baptism; Paul having found them, and because they did not know whether there was a Holy Ghost, rebaptized them with the baptism of the Lord. And from many things, he says, it may be collected that the baptism of John was perfect before the Lord was delivered up. For the Saviour would not have deigned, he says, in the season of his passion to communicate to Peter and the other disciples, baptized with John’s baptism, the awful

mysteries of his spotless body and blood, unless the baptism of John had been made to them perfect. Moreover, when Peter refused to have his feet washed, he heard the Saviour say to him, 'He who is washed, does not need to be washed again, but is clean every whit, and ye are clean.' How? because he who was baptized with John's baptism at the proper time, did not need a second baptism, but were rendered clean by it.

"So says Eulogius, when most of the Fathers think the baptism of John was altogether imperfect."

## LECTURE V.

### ON BAPTISMAL REGENERATION.

“The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us (not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God,) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”—1 PETER iii. 21.

“Τὸ γὰρ ὄφελος ἐκείνου τοῦ βαπτίσματος, ὃ τὴν σάρκα καὶ μόνον τὸ σῶμα φαιδρίνει; Βαπτίσθητε τὴν ψυχὴν, ἀπὸ ὀργῆς καὶ ἀπὸ πλεονεξίας, ἀπὸ φθόνου, ἀπὸ μίσους· καὶ, ἰδού, τὸ σῶμα καθαρὸν ἐστί.”—*Justin Mart. Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 231.

IN our last lecture we arrived at the conclusion, that previously to the resurrection of our Lord, although baptism was administered by John and by the apostles, there was no such thing as baptismal regeneration. Our opponents concede, as we have seen, that baptism by water was not then accompanied by the Holy Ghost, as they concede that no previously existing rite of Judaism, neither circumcision nor any Levitical ablution, was the means through which the Divine life was communicated. We revert to this concession, because it is the basis on which we raise the argument of this lecture; and our reasoning will not be fairly appreciated, unless it be understood that we have already, with the consent of our opponents, and in accordance with all antiquity on which they rely, taken our position upon the ground that previously to the day of Pentecost there was no such thing upon the face of the earth as baptismal regeneration, or regeneration by an sacrament or ceremonial whatsoever.

In controverting the doctrine of baptismal regeneration we have first to determine the sense which we affix to

phrase : for unless this be clearly determined, we shall not be able to preserve the argument free from confusion and perplexity, especially as the defenders of the doctrine do not concur in its exposition. Dr. Waterland, in his "Regeneration Stated and Explained," and Bishop Van Mildert in his "Dampton Lectures," as avowedly and earnestly defend what they call baptismal regeneration, as do Dr. Pusey and Mr. Newman ; yet the former, by regeneration mean no internal change whatever, but only a federal change of condition, an initiation into the new covenant, an introduction to the privileges of the Gospel ; while the latter include in regeneration, "the actual death unto sin, and commencement of spiritual life, the unction of the Holy One, the illumination and sanctification of the soul, the dying in Christ, and rising in the power of his resurrection."\*

We may, however, consider the doctrine of regeneration by baptism as it is proposed in these four distinct senses, and I know no other in which it can be expounded.

1. Baptism so introduces a person into the evangelical covenant, as to give him a right to all its external privileges, by the good use of which he may acquire a title to everlasting life.

2. Baptism so changes the federal condition of a person, as to bestow upon him an immediate title to eternal life, which he retains until it be forfeited by sin.

3. Baptism produces a moral and spiritual change upon the soul in connexion with the federal change of condition, which entitles him to eternal life.

4. Baptism is the medium through which a moral and spiritual change is, although not invariably, yet so frequently produced, as to warrant the church, though not with certainty, yet in the judgment of charity, to declare the person to be regenerate.

These four distinct theories of baptismal regeneration



have been strenuously defended by different members of the English church ; and, therefore, it is necessary to make a few observations respecting them, in order to show more clearly and distinctly the bearing of the argument upon every form in which the subject is propounded. I must, as best I can, while attempting to refute every form of baptismal regeneration, confine myself, as far as possible, to one course of reasoning. The first theory seems to be the least pernicious. It represents baptism as placing a sinner in a new and more advantageous position for securing his own salvation. According to it, his regeneration is nothing more than the acquisition of those privileges of the Gospel by which he may, if he repent and believe, and live a godly life, attain the blessedness of heaven. Baptism places him in a state of salvability, and, therefore, it is implied that all unbaptized persons are excluded from that state, or, in the most favourable view which it will permit us to take, that they are not in a state in which we have any right to conclude that they will be saved. If it be not absolutely certain that they perish, they must be left, to adopt a phrase very frequently on the lips of formalism, when clad in the costume of ecclesiastical authority, to the uncovenanted mercies of God. But the scriptural doctrine, as we believe, is that all men, baptized or unbaptized, are in the state of salvability here supposed ; that is, all men are invited and encouraged to avail themselves of the privileges of the Gospel—all men are not only invited but required to believe the truth of God by which they may be saved. The obligation to believe what God declares, and to do what God commands, is imperative upon all, antecedent to any sacrament and independent of it. To the Philippian jailer, before his baptism, Paul said, “Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.” Was he not at that moment in the state of salvability ? Had he not permission to avail himself of the privileges of the Gospel, and to be saved by believing on Christ ? We are

taught unhesitatingly to regard all men as entitled to the privileges of the Gospel, and as forfeiting their title only by unbelief. "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." If in this sense to be the object of Divine mercy is regeneration, then all men are regenerate. The free gift is as extensive in its application for good, as was the original offence for evil. "As by one offence, the judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by one righteousness the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." "As in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive." The evangelical covenant has relation, on the one hand, to all men as sinners needing its salvation, and on the other, to all believers as actually possessing a personal interest in that salvation; but it is nowhere represented as a covenant with any third class of persons, in a state preferable to that of the world, but inferior to that of the church. "He that hath the Son *hath* life, and he that hath not the Son hath *not* life." We read nothing in Scripture of an intermediate state. The Gospel presents *assurances* of salvation only to believers, *overtures* of salvation to all men.

The second and third theories involve a principle so extraordinary, so opposed to all our previous opinions of the government of God, that we have a right to require in their support the most plain and unequivocal authority of Holy Scripture. The doctrine, be it observed, is that by washing a person with water and repeating over him a form of words, he is introduced into a state of grace, his past sins are forgiven, and he is the heir of eternal life; and, moreover, according to the third theory, a great moral and spiritual renovation is wrought upon his soul by the Spirit of God approving and honouring the service. In other words, he is made by the ceremony really and truly a Christian, and is placed in a state of safety simultaneously with this extraordinary renovation; or if there be no such

change of disposition and character, then according to the second theory, he is placed in this state without any personal and spiritual improvement. In accordance with the third theory, baptismal regeneration is usually stated and defended by the Tractarian party, and we think with them, that if a change of state according to the second hypothesis be conceded, a change of heart had better be conceded also. If the texts of Scripture, which are adduced in support of a transition effected through water, apply to the state of the subject, they equally and incontrovertibly prove a renovation of character. All we demand is clear and incontestable proof, derived from Holy Scripture, of this extraordinary change. It will probably be said, with a contemptuous sneer, This is only a cavil of proud reason which calls for proof, when humble faith would meekly and implicitly submit. We will meekly submit to the lively oracles of God, but not to the uninspired traditions of men. From the ecclesiastical authority of the primitive church, we candidly admit our opponents have the best, though not the whole of the argument; but on this subject we maintain, Scripture and tradition, the apostles and their successors, Christ and the early church, are manifestly at variance. Although some will blame us for making this admission, yet as far as we can understand the testimony of the Fathers, notwithstanding several inconsistencies and some apparent exceptions, the full and rapid stream of ecclesiastical authority from a very early source runs strong in favour of the theory of baptismal regeneration. The defenders of the second and third hypotheses admit, that as the virtue of baptism may be repelled by mortal sin, so it may be subsequently lost by aggravated criminality. It follows that as baptism is the only means of regeneration, those who have lost this grace of God must be in an awful condition, if indeed it be possible to renew them again to repentance. There are, indeed, two other baptisms by which it is admitted the lapsed may possibly be recovered,

—the one the baptism in the profusion of the bitter tears of penitence, to what extent required, in what manner sufficient, no mortal can explain, as of this painful recovery of the fallen none can ever speak with confidence; and the other the baptism in the blood of martyrdom, which is generally admitted, in the words of Tertullian, to be “the baptism which both stands in the place of the laver when it has not been received, and restores it when it is lost.”\*

The fourth theory is received by many of the opponents of the Tractarians in the Church of England. It seems to have been devised in order to reconcile the preaching of Christ crucified as the wisdom and power of God to salvation, with the standards and formularies of the English church; but it is held, I think, by no other Christians in any part of the world. Every administrator of baptism, according to the offices of that church, prays to God to “sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin,” and then gives thanks “that it hath pleased thee to regenerate this infant with thy Holy Spirit.” In these formularies it is clearly implied, that the effusion of the Holy Ghost is so connected with the baptism with water, that the child born of water is also born of the Spirit. The Tractarian party maintain that, with the exception of the instances in which the false reception has frustrated the grace, the effusion of the Holy Spirit is inseparably connected with the baptism of water duly and canonically administered. Their opponents, whose views are defended at length by Mr. Faber, in his “Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration,” maintain that the connexion is *not inseparable*, but that there are two other modes of regeneration; yet as it is one mode in which the grace of regeneration is frequently imparted, the church, as it must pronounce some opinion, pronounces the most charitable, and declares the baptized to be regenerate. Why the church must pronounce some opinion upon a subject of which it

\* De Baptismo, c. xv.

confessedly knows nothing, Mr. Faber does not condescend to inform us.

It may probably be said, I have no right to attribute the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, in any form, to the whole of the evangelical clergy. I have a right to attribute it to every man, who thanks God immediately after baptism that the child is regenerate; because I cannot suppose that, with these words on his lips, in a solemn religious service, he believes the child is not regenerate. In support of this statement I appeal to the testimony of the ablest opponent of the Tractarian party. In reply to one of the Oxford Tracts, in which it is said, "In coming, and we trust better times, it will I think be quoted as a curious and remarkable fact, that there once existed a considerable number of the English clergy, who succeeded in persuading themselves that their church did not consider the grace of regeneration to be conveyed in baptism;" Mr. Faber says, "I never yet happened to meet with an English clergyman, who had either succeeded in persuading himself, or had even attempted to persuade himself, that his church did not consider the grace of regeneration to be conveyed in baptism."\*

There are some grave and serious objections to this fourth hypothesis of the evangelical clergy, which do not apply to the second, or even to the third, that of the Oxford theologians. Mr. Faber says, that regeneration may, "according to the Divine pleasure, take place either before baptism, or in baptism, or after baptism." In baptism he makes regeneration depend very much upon the worthy reception of the rite. The hypothesis is, that a person worthily disposed, that is, believing in Christ, and having the answer of a good conscience to the legitimate interrogatories, is often, he will not say always, regenerated in baptism.

The interrogatory is, "Dost thou renounce the devil and

\* Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration, p. 81.



all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow, nor be led by them? —Answer: I renounce them all.” The supposition is, that if this renunciation be not true and sincere, the person making it will not be regenerated. Whatever regeneration may mean in the writings of Roman and Anglo-Catholics, we know what it means in the sermons and conversation of evangelical clergymen; and we ask, is not the person who sincerely and cordially renounces the world, the flesh, and the devil, actually regenerated in their sense, although he be not baptized? As they contend, in opposition to Tractarians, that regeneration sometimes precedes baptism, ought they not to admit that it always precedes, when the parties have the answer of the good conscience? And when they have not that answer, there is, on their own principles, no regeneration. Do they not thus reduce that regeneration, for which they thank God, to a mere shadow, a conception which can never be realized, an attenuated and metaphysical abstraction for the existence of which no time is appropriated? Or if they reduce this answer of a good conscience, this preparatory fitness for baptism, to some good desires and resolutions distinct from the birth of the Spirit, yet absolutely necessary previous to his regenerating power, what is this but the school notion, the old Pelagian doctrine of grace of congruity which, as Dr. Pusey most properly observes, belongs to every theory which makes regeneration in baptism dependent upon any previous good dispositions, and which is unquestionably and expressly condemned by the thirteenth article of the Church of England? “Works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of his Spirit are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ. Neither do they make men fit to receive grace, or, as the school-authors say, deserve grace of congruity, yea, rather, for they are not done as God hath

willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not that they have the nature of sin." The answer of a good conscience, if it precede regeneration, as that term is expounded by the evangelical party, precedes the grace of Christ and inspiration of the Spirit, and is here declared to be "not pleasant to God, but to have the nature of sin." Thus the attempt to combine the evangelical doctrine of the cross with the most harmless form of sacramental efficacy, leads to the grossest Pelagianism, which Tractarians, in accordance with their own church and all antiquity, indignantly and consistently repudiate.

Still greater and more formidable objections may be brought against this modified theory of baptismal regeneration, in its reference to infants. It supposes that some infants are regenerated in baptism, and others are not. Is it not more reasonable, more in harmony with the great principles of Divine government, and more scriptural, to receive the Tractarian doctrine, than to admit a distinction so arbitrary and uncertain? Before the infants have done good or evil, as they lie unconscious on the arm of the priest, the washing with water becomes regeneration to one and not to another. Mr. Faber, however, thinks the distinction may not be arbitrary, and suggests two modes of obviating the difficulty: either the regeneration may depend upon the sincerity with which the sponsors renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil, on behalf of the baptized infants, or there may be in an infant "the preparatory ingraftation of incipient holiness," rendering some infants worthy recipients of baptism, in the phrase of the schoolmen, "according to the measure of the recipient."\* But is there in Scripture, or even in early ecclesiastical authority, if that be pleaded, the slightest shadow of authority for these extraordinary distinctions? Are they not purely gratuitous assumptions? Where is the proof that baptism produces different effects upon different infants?

\* Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration, book iv. ch. iii.

Who can credit the assertion, that of two unconscious babes, the one worthily as by faith, the other unworthily as by mortal sin, each, "*according to the measure of the recipient,*" receives the baptismal rite? These marvellous expedients to aid the child, who can act neither worthily nor unworthily, being wholly unconscious, are evidently contrived to reconcile the offices of the English church with the opinion of the evangelical clergy who hold the hypothesis, that the grace of regeneration is not uniformly, although it is frequently, imparted to baptized infants. In the long series of Oxonian tracts, there is nothing worse, more unreasonable, or more unscriptural, than this evangelical theory. When a child is declared to be regenerate, we are told that "the principle of the Church of England, borrowed from the apostles themselves, is the systematic adoption of generic as contradistinguished from specific phraseology;"\* but the phrase, "this child is regenerate," would seem to be as specific as words can make it, although Faber tells us it is "made generically," and should not "be interpreted specifically." His explanation amounts to this: baptized children are as a class regenerated, and therefore in the judgment of charity this child, of whose actual regeneration we know nothing, may be generically, though not specifically, declared regenerate. We imagine our readers will agree with us, that this modified doctrine of baptismal regeneration, the regeneration of a class, but not of the individuals belonging to it, has all the objections of the broader principle, together with some peculiar to itself. So far as we can show that the arguments in favour of baptismal regeneration are not sound, we think it will be acknowledged that this modification of the doctrine stands on no better authority than the others, and deserves no more forbearance at our hands. As to the distinction between generic and specific, by which they speak of a child as regenerated, when they mean nothing more than

\* Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration, book iv. ch. iii.

that a class of baptized children are regenerated, of which that specific child may or may not be one; I can only say, it is for those who make or maintain such a distinction, to speak a little more softly and gently of the ingenious Tract, No. 90, lest they should hear the reply, "First cast out the beam from thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to take the mote from thy brother's eye."

Having thus noticed the several theories, let us consider the reasoning which is employed in their support. The first text, and that which is cited with most confidence, is, "Jesus answered, Verily, verily, I say unto you, Unless a man be born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."\* This passage therefore demands our careful consideration, not only because much reliance is placed upon it in this controversy, but especially because if we can ascertain its meaning, we shall have the key to most of the other passages which are usually adduced upon this subject.

To be born of water, I readily admit, for reasons which have been adduced in a preceding lecture, is to be baptized; but the inquiry is, does it prove the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the ordinary sense of that expression? If it do not, no other passage can, for its meaning when ascertained will guide us in our interpretation of other passages, as we shall see when we have to examine them.

The leading question on which the sense of the passage depends is, are we to consider the birth by water and the birth by the Spirit as two distinct operations, or as two parts of the same operation? Is the person born of water necessarily and at the same time born of the Spirit, or may he be only born of water, and fail of being born of the Spirit? The words of themselves assuredly do not prove the inseparable union of the two things. In a corresponding passage, where no figurative terms are

\* John iii. 5.

employed, "he that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved," no one supposes that faith and baptism mean the same thing, nor would any one think of proving from the words, that they are so inseparably united, that faith cannot originate before baptism, or that baptism cannot be administered without instantaneously producing faith.

Tractarians say that the words, "of water," are intended to teach us that our Lord is not to be understood as insisting only upon a spiritual and internal influence; and on the other hand the words, "of the Spirit," that he is not to be understood as restricting the new birth to any outward change of state or relation, however great may be its privileges.\* We fully agree with them, for we also maintain, that to be born of water is not a spiritual change, and that to be born of the Spirit is not an external change. But why should the external and the spiritual be united in one operation? Why may not the birth of water precede or follow the birth of the Spirit? Faith and baptism are, as we have seen, placed in apposition in the words of our Lord, and yet are they distinct in their nature, as I imagine a Tractarian, or even a Romanist, will not maintain, that an infant, when baptized, believes on Him of whom it has never heard. Should it be said the infant believes by its sponsors, we reply, with as much countenance from Scripture it may be said, it is regenerated in its sponsors. And even then the argument remains, if faith and baptism are distinct operations though classed together by our Lord, so may the birth of water, or baptism, and the birth of the Spirit, or regeneration, be distinct operations, as they must have been, according to the opinion of all writers, in the instance of Nicodemus, if he had been at that time baptized. Or even if the appeal must be made from common sense to ecclesiastical tradition, the Fathers distinguished faith from baptism. Thus says Justin Martyr, "Those who are

\* See Tracts for the Times, No. 67.



persuaded and *believe* what we teach to be true, are led by us to a place where there is water, and after the manner of the new birth by which we also were new-born, are they new-born; for they are baptized in water.”\* And again, Tertullian says, “Be it that in past time salvation was through faith alone, when faith was enlarged by the belief in his nativity, passion, and resurrection, there was added the seal of baptism, the clothing as it were of faith.”† By the same rule of interpretation why should not the birth of water and the birth of the Spirit denote two distinct operations, and not one indivisible birth?

To be born again, in Jewish phraseology, is to become a son of Abraham, and so to have a new father. To be born again, in Christian phraseology, is to become a son of God, to have a new Father in heaven. Of this new birth, baptism is the visible sign, regeneration the internal reality. But if it can be clearly and incontrovertibly proved, not only from the evangelical history, but even from the concessions of our opponents, that the two phrases, as they were addressed specifically to Nicodemus, and as they must have been understood in his time, could not have designated one simultaneous operation, but must have described two distinct and separate things, there is an end of the exposition, which binds together in this verse baptism and regeneration, and consequently of the pile of tottering argument erected upon this sandy foundation. Of this passage, be it remembered, Dr. Pusey says, “I would gladly rest the whole question of baptismal regeneration on this one consideration.”‡ I rejoin, So would I. Let us examine it.

Dr. Pusey says, as we have seen, and all the Tractarians say with him, as the Roman Catholics said long before them, and the Fathers still earlier, a long catena of

\* Apol. prim.

† De Baptismo, c. 13.

‡ Tracts for the Times, No. 67, p. 41.

authorities containing every important name which can be deciphered in the fading characters of tradition, that there was no such thing in the world as baptismal regeneration until the Spirit, the chief blessing of redemption, was freely given by the ascended Saviour. There was, therefore, no such thing as baptismal regeneration when our Lord conversed with Nicodemus—no possibility on that night, nor for some time afterwards, of any man in this sense being born of water and of the Spirit. While “from the days of John the kingdom of heaven was preached, and all men pressed into it,” at that very time, when there was no baptismal regeneration, Jesus said, “Verily I say unto thee, Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” Nicodemus might surely have entered into the kingdom of God; many did press into the kingdom of God, but even according to our opponents, none of these acquired baptismal regeneration. The spring of living water had not then issued from the foot of the cross to fill the regenerating font; the angel of baptism had not then descended to trouble the holy waters, and impart to them their sanative virtue; the sacramental gifts were not conferred upon men; the priesthood was not consecrated; St. Peter had not been invested with the keys; the life-inspiring baptistry was not erected in the porch of the church; the initiation into the greater myteries of the faith had not commenced. Did our Lord then speak to Nicodemus of what it was impossible for him or any one else to experience or understand until the day of Pentecost, the date of the great gift of baptismal regeneration? If he did, how could he say, “Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things?” Can any one seriously expound the passage, as though it were to Nicodemus, not a declaration of what then actually was, but a dark prophecy of what was afterwards to take place? If there was no such thing as baptismal regeneration at that time,

and yet if this verse declares that without it no man can enter into the kingdom of heaven, how is this conformable with the fact that many, during the ministry of our Lord, did enter into the kingdom of heaven? Either they entered that kingdom without baptismal regeneration, or else they had baptismal regeneration before the gift of the Holy Ghost was conferred upon the church. But if either proposition be true, as one must be, this Catholic exposition of the verse, "Unless a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven," is obviously and demonstrably false.

It may be asked, how did the Fathers resolve the difficulty respecting those who were baptized before the Pentecost? The general opinion seems to have been that of Chrysostom,\* sustained by Augustine,† "That they were afterwards baptized with the Spirit, for with us both [baptisms] take place in one; but there they took place separately." If it were so, (and this is the explanation of our opponents,) Jesus said to a man to whom baptism by water, and baptism by the Spirit, must have been *ex concessio*, if they were obtained at all, two distinct operations performed at two different times, "Except a man be born of water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." In respect to him, on their own showing, the outward sign and the inward grace must have been distinct and separated, as they were to all who about the same time were baptized. But are we not bound to interpret the words of our Lord as they were applicable to the person to whom they were originally addressed? To Nicodemus our Lord must have intended to convey the idea that *he* must be born of water and of the Spirit, not simultaneously, but by two distinct operations, because at that time the water was not imbued with the Spirit; and if this were the original meaning of the passage, with what kind of logic, or on what principle of

\* Hom. i. in Actt. § 5.

† Ep. 265, ad Seleucian. § 5.

hermenuties, can it now be adduced in proof of their inseparable union? To Nicodemus, not to us, these words were spoken; and we have certainly a right to demand an exposition of them applicable to the person to whom they were originally addressed. Whatever may be the consent of the Fathers adduced in defence of this Catholic exposition, it is in plain and direct contradiction to the facts of the evangelical narrative, even as the Fathers uniformly understood it, and as Tractarians now as uniformly explain it. If it be said, the authority of the Fathers is incontrovertible, I reply to the Anglo-Catholic who says so, Even admitting the uniform and concurrent testimony of the Fathers to be as complete as you affirm, you first assert that baptism at that time was not regeneration; you believe, for you believe Scripture, that many entered into the kingdom of God; these many, therefore, entered into the kingdom of God without baptismal regeneration; and if you venture to allege the infallibility of the Fathers, I ask, by what argument, more plain and obvious, can you prove their infallibility? And if there be no such argument, in vain you adduce a long and unbroken catena of their authorities to prove a plain and palpable contradiction.

The words of our Lord, "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God," in the sense in which our opponents understand them, were not true at the time they were spoken,—they were not true as addressed to Nicodemus. As they must have had another sense when spoken by our Lord, that sense they must still retain, for the evangelist merely records the words as part of a conversation. Time, the great innovator, cannot change the sense of a record, however numerous may be the years which have gathered around it. Its language may become obsolete, but its meaning cannot vary; its truth may grow dim and obscure in the remote haze of antiquity, but a new interpretation

—the creature of more recent times, cannot belong to it. The true sense of words when spoken is the sense, whether perceived or not, which is inherent and indestructible in them for ever.

The conclusion is inevitable—if when the baptism with water and the baptism of the Spirit were not united, but separate, our Lord declared, “Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,” these words cannot now prove that baptism with water and baptism with the Spirit are invariably united in one operation. Yet this is the passage upon which Dr. Pusey says, and we join issue with him, he would gladly rest the whole question.\*

But if this verse, on which Tractarians place their chief reliance, so utterly fails them, it furnishes an admirable guide to the exposition of other passages which they adduce. If to be born of water, and to be born of the Spirit, are distinct operations, then the washing of regeneration,† and the renewal of the Holy Ghost, mentioned together by St. Paul, must be acknowledged to be also distinct operations. The terms of the two texts so resemble each other, birth by water and regeneration by washing, birth by the Spirit and renewal by the Holy Ghost, that however various may be the expositions of the passages, the exposition of either readily furnishes the key to the exposition of the other: As a person understands the birth by water, so will he understand the washing of regeneration; as he explains the birth by the Spirit, so will he explain the renewal of the Holy Ghost. The two texts, the Gospel and the Epistle, Jesus and Paul, teach the same doctrine in very similar language; and, therefore, if the two things are different and disunited in the words of our Lord, so are they in the writings of the apostle. If to be born of water be an external sign of the new birth, so is to be regenerated by washing; and

\* See Appendix A.

† Titus iii. 5.



if the external sign was separate from the internal grace when our Lord addressed Nicodemus, how can it be shown that the same sign and the same reality became inseparable when St. Paul wrote to Titus? His language is no more precise nor conclusive than that of our Lord: it admits of exactly the same latitude, and the same limits of interpretation; the true exposition of the Gospel is evidently the true exposition of the corresponding expressions in the epistle; and if baptismal regeneration, as it is now held, cannot be proved by the words of our Lord, as we have seen it cannot, neither can it be proved from the words of the apostle, obviously of the same import. To all the Fathers we prefer our blessed Lord himself, as the expositor of his own apostle.

I am aware that in maintaining this interpretation of the passage in Titus, I am exposing myself to objections from opposite parties. There are not only those who contend that we are saved by baptism, but also those who, through extreme fear of the Tractarian doctrine, will not allow that St. Paul could have written, According to his mercy he saved us, by baptism and the renewal of the Holy Ghost. We think we can obviate the objection, and reply to both extremes, by reference to other passages of Scripture.

Passing without further reference the passage which I have already noticed, "He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved," I would entreat attention for a moment to the words of the apostle: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."\* Here confession with the mouth, as well as faith in the heart, is represented as a condition of salvation. Yet is it evident that confession with the mouth alone will not save, will do nothing towards our salvation; being false and hypocritical it is of the nature of sin, and will rather

\* Romans x. 9.

augment our guilt. Yet the apostle speaks of public confession exactly as he speaks of baptism. He teaches in the Romans, that we are saved by confession and faith; in Titus, that we are saved by baptism and the renewal of the Holy Ghost. As no one maintains that a public confession will save us, so on the same principle of interpretation, no one ought to maintain that baptism will save us. All Christians agree that the confession was regarded only as the appropriate and obligatory expression of the faith of the heart, and so it would follow that baptism was regarded only as the appropriate and obligatory sign of the renewal of the Holy Ghost. As the apostle wrote to professed and baptized Christians, his meaning, allowing him to be his own expositor, must have been, in one instance, if the confession of the mouth corresponded as a true sign with the faith of the heart, the person would be saved; so in the other, if the washing of regeneration corresponded as a true sign with the renewal of the Holy Ghost, the person would be saved. Professed and baptized men were taught that their profession and their baptism were or were not of avail, as they were true signs of the great and momentous realities,—faith and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.\*

This exposition of St. Paul is illustrated and confirmed by the words of St. Peter, which, although they are often cited by Catholics in proof of their doctrine, most plainly and obviously contradict it. “The like figure whereunto even baptism doth now save us, not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience toward God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.”† The slightest attention to this verse would correct the erroneous and untenable opinion in defence of which it is often cited. Let us glance at the connexion.

The apostle had observed, that at the general deluge, “few, that is, eight souls, were saved by water.” He adds,

\* See Appendix B.

† 1 Peter iii. 21.

“Whereunto,” that is, unto which water, the antitype “baptism, doth also now save us.”\* The water of the deluge is represented as the type, the water of baptism as the antitype. As through the type eight souls were saved, so through the antitype are we saved. Wherein consists the resemblance? Our opponents affirm, and appeal to this passage in proof of their affirmation, that the water of baptism actually saves us, or is the instrument which God employs for our salvation; but if their appeal be sustained, it is obvious from the whole structure of the passage that the water of the deluge actually saved or was the instrument of saving the family of Noah. The mention of the type exposes the absurdity of the interpretation which is given to the antitype. We are saved by baptism, it is said, and the authority of Peter is adduced in confirmation: precisely, we reply, appealing to the same authority, as the family of Noah was saved through the deluge. But the deluge actually saved no man; although eight souls believing in God were saved amidst its waters; so baptism, on the authority of the parallelism, actually saves no man, although believers in Jesus being baptized, as in that age they invariably were, are saved through its waters.

The apostle, however, as if on purpose to guard against the error which ascribes salvation to the sacrament of baptism, adds, “Not the putting away the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God.” “The putting away the filth of the flesh” must denote the ablution of the body with water. That external baptism cannot save us; but the answer of a good conscience does. Is the answer of a good conscience inseparably

\* Ὅλῳ (τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁκτὼ) ψυχαὶ διεσώθησαν δι' ὕδατος· ὃ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον εἶναι εὐχόμεθα βάπτισμα (οὐ σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις ῥύπου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν) δι' ἀναστάσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The words type and antitype often express only a resemblance, and not a prefiguration; as an oracle in the first book of Herodotus calls the blow of the hammer and rebound of the anvil of a smith's shed type and antitype.

connected with the ablution of water? If it be, what practical object could the apostle have in saying, "Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience," seeing the answer was inseparable from the ablution? But if, as the text intimates, the ablution of the flesh and the answer of the conscience were distinct operations, the cleansing not of the flesh, but of the conscience, doth now save us, that is, not the baptism by water, but the baptism of the Spirit. This conclusion stands firm and unaffected, whatever may be the interpretation of "the answer of a good conscience," whether it be the internal feeling corresponding with the external sign, or the honest reply of the heart to the profession of the lips, or the stipulation publicly made by the baptized, honourably observed, if indeed the stipulation to renounce the devil and his works, made in replying to the legitimate interrogatory, was as ancient as the apostolic age.\*

Appeal is also made to the great commission, "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." These words are said to contain an awful mystery. The being baptized into the sacred names of the undivided Trinity is represented as "a real appropriation of the person baptized to the Holy Trinity, a transfer of him from the dominion of Satan to them—an insertion of him within their blessed name, and through their name into the Godhead."† The reverence of the Jews when they fear to utter the incommunicable Name, is spoken of as

\* Even at the time in which sacramental efficacy was the general doctrine of ecclesiastics, we find the words of Peter appealed to in proof that by the true baptism we are to understand, not the washing with water, but the cleansing of the conscience. Thus, says St. Basil, "Εἰ τις ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι χάρις, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἐστὶ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος παρουσίας, οὗ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ῥύπον σαρκὸς ἀπόθεσις, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς Θεόν."—*Bas. de Spi. Sancto*, c. xv.

† Tracts for the Times, No. 67.

not unsuitable for us, as we meditate upon the mystery contained under the sacred names with which we are baptized. The citations from the Fathers, serviceable as they usually are in sustaining the advocates of sacramental efficacy, afford them very little aid in their appropriation of this text. As soon as we turn over the Bible in search of a similar phrase to illustrate the words, the whole pile of awful mystery begins to tremble. The Jews were baptized into Moses, yet they were not regenerated by him; the disciples, before the gift of the Spirit, baptized multitudes into the name of Jesus, yet to them the gift of regeneration was not imparted. How then, without the authority of other passages, ought we to conclude that Christians baptized into the name of the Trinity are thereby regenerated?

Having noticed the passages of the New Testament which are usually adduced in support of baptismal regeneration, we leave the candid reader to determine whether they afford any countenance whatever to that doctrine in any of the forms in which it is held. The allusions to baptism, which are not so distinctly expressed, must be interpreted in accordance with those whose meaning can be clearly ascertained; and, therefore, we think we are fully warranted in saying that the extraordinary doctrine of baptismal regeneration, the power of effecting a moral and spiritual change in the soul by washing the body with water and repeating a prescribed formula, is sustained by no sure warrant of Holy Scripture. As to the passages of the Old Testament which are sometimes adduced in proof of the doctrine, such as, "I will sprinkle clean water upon them and they shall be clean," or, "Purge me with hyssop and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow," we can only say, no one would think of applying them to Christian baptism, had they not been so applied by some of the early ecclesiastical writers. The value of these citations must, therefore, depend entirely upon the



authority which we assign to the Fathers, as expositors of Holy Scripture; for certainly, without their aid, we should never have discovered the meaning of the words of David, "Wash me and I shall be whiter than snow," to be, Baptize me and I shall be sanctified and forgiven.\* Dr. Pusey and his coadjutors tell us we are bound to take this exposition on the authority of the ancient church. Grave and venerable as may be that authority, it is scarcely sufficient to induce us to believe that king David prayed for baptism more than a thousand years before it was instituted. But be it that before the weeping eyes of the penitential king the evangelical vision of the Christian church rose in all its grandeur and glory, and the sacred font, adorned with festoons of flowers, at the great festival, and glittering with the pellucid waters of regeneration, inspired his soul with fervent desires, so that, as he saw the pardoned and sanctified emerge from the purifying element whiter than snow, he longed and prayed with intense and irrepressible eagerness to bathe in the holy life-giving laver; be all this true, are we also to believe all the wonderful things that the same venerable Fathers say in their expositions of the Old Testament, of the marvellous powers of the watery element; as for instance, when they interpret the words, "What aileth thee, O thou sea, that thou fleddest? thou Jordan, that thou wast driven back?" as "the amazement of the waters, that our Lord would condescend to be baptized therein;" or the words, "Thou brakest the heads of the dragons upon the waters," as denoting the destruction in holy baptism of the heinous sins of the baptised?† Yet Dr. Pusey sees great beauty in these and many similar expositions which, unfortunately for them, a meagre and degenerate race of rationalists cannot discern.

\* Theod. in Ps. li. Ambrose De Sac. iv. 1, § 6. Cyril. Hier. Lect. iii. 1.

† Aug. ad Loc. § 18. Theod. ad Loc. See also citations from Hesychius, Apollinarius, and the ancient liturgies, in Pusey on Baptism, p. 387.

Let us now hastily glance at the ecclesiastical authority in favour of baptismal regeneration, which in the compass of a lecture it is very difficult to exhibit, and for the purpose of controversy not very easy to manage. That baptismal regeneration in some form was the general doctrine of the ancient church, that is to say, from about one hundred and forty years before the council of Nice, every person moderately acquainted with ecclesiastical writers ought candidly and honestly to acknowledge; yet although we find the doctrine in a milder form as early as Clement of Alexandria,\* and Tertullian,† we are not prepared to ascribe it to those who are called the apostolical Fathers. Of course, all who believe that they distinctly see baptismal regeneration in the New Testament, and find it again prominent on the surface of ecclesiastical history, in the latter part of the second century, will conclude that it floated without interruption down the stream from the apostles, through their immediate successors, to the bishops and presbyters of a subsequent age. But if in the relics of Clement of Rome, of Ignatius, and of Polycarp, there cannot be found sufficient materials to enable us to ascertain their doctrine on the subject of sacramental efficacy, we cannot allow subsequent writers to speak for them, especially as these writers do not profess to expound the opinions of their predecessors. Believing that the doctrine in question has no apostolical authority, we are under no obligation to admit for it an antiquity higher than that which can be clearly proved from existing records. The precise date at which the doctrine in question arose in the church is not to be assumed without evidence, and no evidence can be adduced which will connect it with the apostolic age, through the immediate successors of the apostles. If Justin Martyr and Irenæus should be cited as proving the doctrine to be earlier than Clement of

\* Pæd. l. 6, 26; l. 6, 28. Strom. l. 3; l. 4.

† De Bap. *passim*.

Alexandria and Tertullian, we reply that, if their phraseology be interpreted in favour of baptismal regeneration, good use may be made of them to exhibit the doctrine in its transition state from the simplicity of Christ to the corruptions of the third century. The true state of the question respecting ecclesiastical authority on the subject of baptismal regeneration may, I think, be thus fairly expressed. Of the doctrine previous to Justin Martyr's first Apology, written about A.D. 140, or 150, we know nothing. From that date to the time of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian, at the close of the second, and beginning of the third century, it appears, as we think, rising in the church, an ill-defined and portentous shade. It afterwards comes forth to public view in its appropriate character, including a change both of disposition and of state, the accredited doctrine of the Catholic church, although some writers of a later period, and even as late as Augustine, and none more decidedly than that illustrious Father, employ at times language apparently irreconcilable with the doctrine, as it is maintained by Romanists and Tractarians; language which certainly no writer of either of those classes would now select to express his own opinions. The inquiry is, how far in forming our opinions ought we to be influenced by this consideration, supposing I have fairly stated the doctrine of the ancient church?\*

But have I fairly stated it? In the scanty relics of Clement of Rome, of Ignatius, and of Polycarp, or in the

\* Scaliger, Dodwell, Le Clerc, Neander, Semisch, and many other learned men, assign to the first Apology of Justin the date A.D. 138, or 139, chiefly influenced by the consideration that Justin does not give to Marcus Aurelius the title of Cæsar, which he received soon after the accession of Antoninus Pius in the course of the year 139. Cave, Lardner, Augusti, and others, prefer A.D. 140. Tillemont, Grabe, the Benedictine editors, and others, ascribe it to A.D. 150. And as Justin himself speaks of Christ having been born 150 years before, his own computation seems to supply a better criterion than the absence of a title, which might have been neglected by the Christian apologist, or if adopted by him, been since obliterated by the accidents of time.

relations of the martyrdom of the last two venerable men, we have scarcely a particle of information respecting their opinion, or the opinion of their age, on the subject of baptism. In the paucity of the materials very little could have been expected. There is, however, a passage in the second epistle of Clement, (supposing the fragment to be genuine, and if it be not, it is undoubtedly of great antiquity, as it was publicly read in the church in the time of Epiphanius,) which speaks of repentance in connexion with baptism, in terms very unlike the language of succeeding ages, when baptism being regarded as the means of obtaining the pardon of sin, scarcely a ray of hope was afforded to those who had broken their baptismal seal, and violated their baptismal vow. Clement, or whoever was the author, knew nothing of this severe and gloomy theology. He says, Unless we keep our baptism chaste and unpolluted, with what confidence shall we enter the kingdom of God? And after a few sentences concerning those who keep not their seal, (by their seal undoubtedly he means their baptism,\*) it is said, “their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched, and they shall be for a spectacle to all flesh;”† he adds, “While, therefore, we are upon earth, let us repent, for we are as clay for the hand of the potter; for as the potter, if he make a vessel, and it be turned amiss in his hands, or broken again, forms it anew; but if he have gone so far as to throw it into the furnace of

\* See *Hermas Pastor* iii. ix. 16. *Illud autem sigillum aqua est in quam descendunt homines morti obligati, ascendunt vero vitæ assignati.* Tert. adv. Marc. l. 4. Barn. Ep. 9, and other passages noticed by Suicer, in verb. Σφραγίς.

† Τὼν γὰρ μὴ τηρησάντων, φησὶν, τὴν σφραγίδα, “ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτήσει, καὶ τὸ πῦρ αὐτῶν οὐ σβεσθήσεται, καὶ ἔσονται εἰς ὄρασιν πάσῃ σαρκί.” Ὡς οὖν ἔσμεν ἐπὶ γῆς, μετανοήσωμεν. Πηλὸς γάρ ἔσμεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ τεχνίτου· ὃν τρόπον γὰρ ὁ κεραμεὺς, ἐὰν ποιῇ σκεῦος, καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ διαστραφῇ, ἢ συντριβῇ, πάλιν αὐτὸ ἀναπλάσσει· ἐὰν δὲ προφθίσῃ εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸ βαλεῖν, οὐκέτι βοηθήσει αὐτῷ· οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὥς ἔσμεν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἃ ἐπράξαμεν πονηρὰ, μετανοήσωμεν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἵνα σωθῶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὥς ἔχομεν καιρὸν μετανοίας. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, οὐκέτι δυνάμεθα ἐκεῖ ἐξομολογήσασθαι ἢ μετανοεῖν &c.—*Epist. ii. c. 7, 8.*

fire, he can no more restore it; so we, while we are in this world, should repent with our whole heart, for all the evil we have done in the flesh, while we have yet the time of repentance, that we may be saved by the Lord. For after we shall have departed out of this world, we shall be no longer able either to confess our sins, or to repent of them." This is surely not the language of one who ascribed the pardon of sin to the efficacy of the sacrament. The punishment of the undying worm and unquenchable fire, he determined to be the consequence of breaking the baptismal seal; but he evidently believed that, during the whole of life, repentance was to be obtained, by which the pledge-breaker might be saved, although he had forfeited the advantage of his baptism. The extract may be thought not very important, but it contains language which the believers in baptismal regeneration would not employ in speaking of the violation of the sacramental vow. Although, as we have noticed in the Appendix to the first lecture, much that is said of sin being only once forgiven after baptism refers to the restoration of the excommunicated, yet the spirit of subsequent writings is not reconcilable with this extract.

Although, in the epistles of Ignatius, we find it said that none may baptize without the bishop,\* a statement which is utterly inconsistent with the diocesan episcopacy of modern times, yet we find no distinct reference to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, unless indeed a passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians† should be so interpreted, where Jesus is said "to have been born and baptized, that by his passion he might sanctify water." If this be the correct reading, of which there is some doubt, independently of the general uncertainty and corruption of the text of Ignatius, as of it the interpolator was certainly ignorant, it must in candour be admitted that the opinion, inexplicable as it seems to us, that Christ by his baptism : anc-

\* Ad Smyrnæos, c. viii.

† c. xviii.



tified water, is the most ancient form, as it was the most general, in which we find sacramental efficacy ascribed to baptism. In the translation of Archbishop Wake it is added, "for the washing away of sin;" but this addition is without any sufficient authority: indeed, the true reading of the whole sentence is too doubtful to sustain the conclusion for which it has been adduced.\* It is also true that Hermas, in his marvellous Visions and Similitudes, speaks of sins being forgiven in the waters of baptism, but we cannot receive the writings which pass under his name as the genuine productions of the first century. The discrepancy upon the subject of repentance† would satisfy us, the Pastor of Hermas does not belong to the same age as even the second and doubtful epistle of Clement. Surely I need say nothing further respecting this most impudent forgery, as all must acknowledge it to be, unless they admit its claims to inspiration. Professing to be inspired by the Spirit of God, the writer is to be either revered as of canonical authority, or rejected as a profane and wilful impostor. Let those who ascribe to it any authority on the subject of baptism, tell us what we are to say to the strange similitude of the Shepherd, in which he represents the apostles and first teachers of the Gospel baptizing after death seventy spirits of the ancient patriarchs and prophets, in order that having the seal of water they might enter the kingdom of heaven, from which, being unbaptized at death, they had been excluded.‡ But we may well leave the dreams of the Shepherd, and with them the epistle of Barnabas, and proceed to Justin Martyr.

The celebrated passage in his first Apology, as it is the most ancient account we have of the mode of celebrating baptism after the apostolic age, deserves our careful attention. "In what manner we having been renewed have

\* Compare the interpolated epistle, which assigns no such reason for the baptism of Jesus.

† Com. iv. 3.

‡ Sim. ix. 16.

dedicated ourselves to God, we will now explain. As many as may be persuaded, and may believe the things which we teach to be true, and engage to live in accordance with them, are instructed to pray with fasting for the forgiveness of their sins, we also fasting and praying with them. They are then taken to a place where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner as we were regenerated; for they are washed with water in the name of the Father and Lord of all things, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. For Christ says, Unless ye be born again, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven; and every one knows it is impossible for those being once born to enter again into their mother's womb." And after a few sentences, he adds, "that we should not continue children of necessity and ignorance, but of choice and of knowledge, and should obtain the remission of the sins which we have before committed, there is invoked over him who has chosen to be regenerated, and has repented of his sins, the name of God the Father and Lord of all things." He adds, "this washing is called illumination, because those who learn these things are illuminated in their understanding, and in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and the name of the Holy Spirit, who by the prophets foretold all things concerning Jesus; he being illuminated is washed."

After the baptism, the person was admitted to the brotherhood of Christians, to the fellowship of their prayers, and to the communion of the Lord's supper, with the apostolic token of recognition, the kiss of charity. In the time of Justin, as indeed, so far as we can ascertain, from the apostolic age, no unbaptized person was admitted to the fellowship of the church, or to the participation of the supper. Having mentioned the introduction of the baptized to the Lord's supper, he says, "And this food we call *εὐχαριστία*, of which no one is permitted to partake who has not been washed with the laver for the remission of

sins, and unto regeneration, and does not live according to the commands of Christ." With this passage we may compare another in the dialogue with Trypho, in which Justin contrasts spiritual baptism with the water baptism of the Jews. "Through the washing of repentance and the knowledge of God, which is appointed for the iniquities of God's people, as Esaias says, we believe and know that the baptism which he pre-announced is alone able to purify the penitent; this is the water of life. But the cisterns which ye" (the Jews) "have dug out, are broken and of no use to you. For what advantage is there in that baptism which cleanses only the flesh and the body? Be baptized as to your soul, from anger and avarice, from envy and hatred, and then behold, the body also is clean."\*

On all this we remark that Justin, in common with all ecclesiastical antiquity, refers the words of our Lord, "Unless a man be born of water," to baptism, and that he himself therefore calls baptism regeneration. We cannot, however, with anything like certainty, infer that he believed baptism to produce a moral and spiritual change upon the subject. He considers the person as introduced by baptism into the fellowship of Christians, and initiated into the privileges of the church. It is not improbable that Justin, a Samaritan by birth, considered baptism, as we have seen the Jews considered it, to be a rite of proselytism, and denominated the proselyte thus recognized by baptism, as the Jews would have denominated him, a new-born child, without reference to any other spiritual change.

Although he speaks of obtaining remission of sin by water, he represents the person as having previously repented, making his remission consequent upon his repentance. Although he calls baptism regeneration, yet elsewhere he distinguishes them, for he speaks of the washing *εἰς ἀναγέννησιν*, for regeneration, and therefore distinct from it. Would it not appear that he calls baptism,

\* See Appendix C. for these passages and for some other allusions.

regeneration, merely as a symbol of regeneration, the true and inward baptism?

He says, "baptism is called illumination:" a term very frequently employed by the Fathers, and yet he plainly distinguishes illumination from the act of baptism, for he says, "he who is illuminated,"—illumination preceding baptism—"is washed in the name of Jesus Christ and of the Holy Ghost." From the analogy of the language, we might therefore infer that the meaning of Justin is to be explained; he who makes his choice to be regenerated, is baptized, and therefore baptism is called regeneration; as he who is illuminated is baptized, and therefore baptism is called illumination. This will appear from a passage in the dialogue with Trypho, in which he opposes spiritual circumcision to the carnal circumcision of the Jews: but by spiritual circumcision he does not mean baptism, as some assert; for Justin says, "Enoch, and those like him, observed it;" and further, he says, "we have received it through baptism, on account of the mercy of God;"—thus distinguishing it from baptism. In the passage where Justin says, "The commandment of circumcision which enjoins that infants should be circumcised on the eighth day, was a type of the true circumcision with which we were circumcised from error and wickedness," he is frequently interpreted as saying, the true circumcision denotes baptism; but ought not Justin to expound his own meaning? and if he do so, the true circumcision is that of the heart.\*

Lastly, in contrast with the Jewish baptism, which being only of the flesh and of the body, is of no advantage, he proposes a baptism without water of the soul from vice, as a sufficient purification, which he would scarcely have done if he believed in a mechanical or magical sanctification by the water of Christian baptism.

There are, however, some remarks of Augustine, which

\* See Appendix C.



may aid the exposition of the language of Justin, and favourably explain the use of the term regeneration as applied to baptism. That great luminary of the African church says, "If the sacraments had not some resemblance of those things of which they are the sacraments," (or signs.) "they would not be sacraments at all. From this resemblance they very often receive the names of the things themselves. As, therefore, after a certain manner, the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ, so the sacrament of the faith is the faith."\* And in another place he says, "For the Lord did not hesitate to say, This is my body, when he gave the sign of his body."† The same opinion is variously expressed in other passages. Taking Augustine as our expositor of Justin Martyr, we have less difficulty with his terms. He calls, as we have seen reason to infer from his own writings, baptism the sign, by the name of the thing signified, regeneration. The remarks of Augustine, as they are of great importance in ascertaining the opinions of the early Fathers on transubstantiation, so they materially assist us in expounding the terms in which they speak of baptism. The vindication of the later writers is hopeless, even with the aid of Augustine, who was struggling against the full tide of corruption, on behalf of a simpler and purer theology.

We, however, are not prepared to deny that Justin Martyr held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, in a mitigated sense, different from that of his successors, or that in his age there was beginning to appear the tendency to cor-

\* Si enim sacramenta quandam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quandam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est. Aug. Epist. 23. ad Bonif.

† Non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere *hoc est corpus meum*, cum signum daret corporis sui. Contra Adim. Manich. c. 12.



rupt the simplicity of scriptural ordinances, which soon afterwards overspread the Christian community, and disfigured the evangelical doctrine throughout the oriental and western churches. There is, we must admit, much perplexing ambiguity in sentences in which water and faith and the cross are classed together as means of repentance.\* Thus much, however, we may maintain with safety, that the doctrine and practice of baptism in the age of Justin Martyr, as he himself supplies us with the detail, were very different from the doctrine and practice of the subsequent ages, the third and fourth centuries, to which Tractarians appeal in defence of their principles. We find no high-sounding titles of baptism, no exaggerated description of its virtue, no appearance of the veneration of awful mysteries, no traces of the unscriptural doctrine of reserve. In the *Apology* he frankly discloses to the emperors, the senate, and the people of Rome, the rites and ceremonies, the worship and the doctrine of the Christian church. He raises the veil of the sanctuary without hesitation, and exposes to the public the innermost shrine of the church. Instead of the baptistery concealed with so much jealousy from the eyes of the uninitiated, we have in Justin only a place where there is water; and instead of the basilica, with its vestibule, and nave, and chancel, and sanctuary, and throne for the bishop, we have the place where those who are called brethren assemble. But no distinction is more remarkable than that which appears in the institution of the catechumens. Although in the succeeding age we find them in their several orders of advancement preparing for baptism, as for a great and awful solemnity, the critical period of their lives, their great transition from death to life, from ruin to salvation, from the devil to Christ; in Justin it is only said, "Those who are persuaded of the truth of the things we teach, and believe them, are taken to the place where there is water." The catechumenical

\* Dial. cum Tryp. c. 138. See Appendix C.

services, of which we have no trace whatever in the New Testament, disclose, in the third and fourth century, an extraordinary change of opinion upon the subject of baptism. The apostles baptized the converts on the same day as they preached to them the Gospel; the bishops of the third and fourth centuries placed them under a long and severe discipline before they were admitted to partake of the holy mysteries. As we have no mention in Justin of the *audientes* or the *competentes*, or any other class of catechumens, so there is no reference to what, in so circumstantial an account, could scarcely be without notice, if it was at that time known, to sponsors acting on behalf of the baptized, although we find in Tertullian that such persons were required in the next age.

From Irenæus we can obtain no further information. His language corresponds with that of Justin Martyr, in so far as he calls baptism regeneration. What he means by the term is variously explained, according to the theology of the expositor. We have seen that Justin both calls baptism regeneration, and yet speaks of regeneration as distinct from baptism. And so Irenæus, if we may trust the barbarous old Latin translation, has the term regeneration, where there is no reference to baptism. Even later writers by regeneration often mean baptism, where no spiritual change could possibly have been intended. Clement of Alexandria,\* and Jerome,† for instance, speak of our Lord as regenerated by John, that is, baptized by him, but assuredly not born again in any spiritual sense. Let it here be observed, as illustrating the use of the term regeneration, that while, as we have seen, the Fathers deny that any spiritual change was effected by the baptism of John, or that it could impart the Holy Ghost, or secure the pardon of sin, yet they speak of it as regeneration. How far this will explain the use of the term in the early Fathers,

\* *Pædagog.* lib. i. c. 6, *σήμερον ἀναγεννηθεὶς ὁ Χριστός.*

† *Contra Jovinian.* lib. i.

as a sign of regeneration when applied to baptism, I leave for the consideration of the reader. Irenæus says, "Jesus, committing to his disciples the power of regeneration, said to them, 'Go and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'" The remainder of the passage deserves attention. Irenæus evidently thought of a regeneration of the Spirit, distinct from baptism by water; for he adds, "He promised by the prophets, that in the last times he would pour out his Spirit upon his servants and his handmaids, that they should prophesy. Whence also this same Spirit descended upon the Son of God, made the Son of man, with him accustomed to dwell in the human race, and to rest in man, and to abide in the creature wrought upon by God, working the will of God in them, and renewing them from this old state into the newness of Christ."\* This renewing into Christ is represented as the operation of the Holy Spirit, and, therefore, as distinct from the regeneration committed to the apostles. So far as we can ascertain, the opinions of Irenæus coincide with those of Justin Martyr.

We now come to Tertullian, to Clement of Alexandria,†

\* *Potestatem Regenerationis demandans discipulis, dicebat eis: Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Hunc enim promisit per prophetas, effundere se in novissimis temporibus, super servos et ancillos, ut prophetent. Unde et in Filium Dei filium hominis factum descendit, cum ipso assuescens habitare in genere humano et requiescere in hominibus et habitare in plasmate Dei voluntatem Patris operans in ipsis et renovans eos a vetustate in novitatem Christi. Iren. adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 19.* Some other references to baptism occur, but they are too brief and obscure to afford any assistance in this inquiry. See lib. i. c. 18.

† If the Epitome of the writings of Theodotus, appended to the works of Clement, can be supposed to represent any opinions of that age, the doctrine of baptismal regeneration must have expanded in its full bloom and perfection. More astonishing representation of the wonderful power of baptism is not to be found in the fourth or fifth century. Although in these passages, be they of Theodotus, or of whatever divine, there are some references to the internal baptism as distinct from the external, and the celestial water as distinguished from the earthly, which would intimate that the writer

to Origen, and to the other writers of the beginning of the third century; and here we are compelled to surrender the argument. Although there are some exceptions, some passages at variance with others, some contradictions, and some limitations, some remarks arising out of controversy, and some earnest warnings against the abuse of sacraments, out of all which a thorough partisan might easily construct a fair and plausible argument against the Tractarian hypothesis; yet we feel bound candidly to acknowledge, that baptismal regeneration in some form becomes the general doctrine of the Christian church, after the close of the second century. In making this admission we claim the right of appending to it some qualifications. Although there is sufficient evidence to compel us to acknowledge that the teachers of the Christian church, in the third century, had departed from what we believe to be the simplicity of Christ, yet no consistent theory of baptismal regeneration can be so deduced from their writings as to enable us to say with confidence, this is the accredited doctrine of the third or even of the fourth century. As there was no standard of faith other than Scripture to which they could appeal, and as they recognized among themselves no

held some spiritual and correct views; yet baptism is represented as exerting a mystic and most marvellous power upon the soul. The great danger is, lest the unclean spirits should go down with the man into the water, and so acquire the holy seal of baptism with him. But the most extraordinary proof of the regenerating power of baptism—the *experimentum crucis*, is, that even destiny—the awful, resistless, inflexible *ἡ εἰμαρμένη*, which with absolute sway ruled the Grecian gods—loses its power over the man when he enters the baptistry, for, as he becomes a new creature, so the nativities of his horoscope are reversed—and the astrologers can predict nothing more respecting him—μέχρι τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὖν ἡ εἰμαρμένη, φασίν, ἀληθής· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔτι ἀληθεύουσιν οἱ ἀστρολόγοι. This book is sometimes considered to represent in epitome the lost Institutes of Clement, but I cannot believe, independently of the discrepancy in other particulars, that such absurdity existed in any teacher of the church or the school of Alexandria, so early as the age of Clement. Theodotus is usually regarded as a heretic, but such superstition would be unpardonable in a pagan. According to Photius, however, nothing can be too bad to attribute to the Hypotyposes of Clement. Bib. cix.



infallible head, no vicar of Christ upon earth, we have no right to assume that there existed among them unity of faith upon a doctrine which was nowhere proposed for the consideration of any general convention, nor expounded with the logical precision of authorized formularies. In the meagre symbols of their creeds, the nature of the sacraments occupied no prominent place. Whatever they thought of baptismal regeneration, they might have honestly professed without dissenting from the Apostles' or the Nicene creed. There was only a general concurrence of teachers, not a uniform doctrine of the church. If there had been, we should none the less insist upon a final appeal to Scripture; but the view we have taken will account for the inconsistencies of expression, and apparent varieties of opinion, which are to be found in the several writers.

We have also to consider, that we are embarked in a controversy of which the ancients knew nothing whatsoever. Had this discussion sprung up in the beginning of the third century, it is impossible to say how Origen, or Cyprian, or any other writer, would have expressed himself, when every word would be carefully considered, lest it should be abused; as it always is of extreme difficulty to ascertain what would have been the opinion of any man upon a controversy which was not agitated until a subsequent age. After the council of Nice, it is easy to infer, from the style of the writer, whenever he approached the disputed point, whether he was Athanasian or Arian, unless he guilefully concealed his opinion; but is it so easy to determine respecting Origen or any of the earlier writers? I ask any candid Trinitarian, if he is thoroughly satisfied with the ante-Nicene testimonies to the divinity of our blessed Saviour, considered as expositions of his doctrine? Is he able clearly to ascertain from their writings, the opinions on that point of any class of Christian divines, as of the criticizing Origen, or the philosophizing Clement, the platonic Justin, or that most



unplatonie of mortals, Tertullian? Until their language was winnowed by the agitation of controversy, the doctrine does not appear distinctly and formally enunciated. The faith, I doubt not, of most of them was sound, but it was not clearly nor consistently expressed. So in appealing to the early Fathers upon the subject of sacramental efficacy, we are consulting them upon a subject which we do not know they ever seriously studied. They frequently reproved such as neglected or abused the sacraments, and hence they employed a loose and rhetorical style; but they no more thought of protecting the faithful by logical definitions from the angry controversies of a subsequent age, than they did of fortifying their churches by ramparts against the future attacks of Goths or Saracens. As Bishop Hurd well says of appeals to the Fathers, "The matters of debate are, for the most part, such as had never entered into the heads of those old writers, being indeed of much later growth, and having first sprung up in the barbarous ages; they could not, therefore, decide on questions which they had no occasion to consider, and had in fact never considered, however their loose and figurative expressions might be made to look that way by the dexterous management of controversialists." It should also be observed that the Fathers, when speaking of baptism without an epithet, sometimes mean the baptism not of water but of the Holy Ghost, the *βάπτισμα Πνευματικόν*, as when Gregory Nazianzen says,\* "Jesus baptized, that is, with the Spirit." Some of their lofty eulogies refer to this celestial baptism, as Irenæus speaks of the celestial water. From Augustine alone many passages of an opposite tendency might readily be selected, although the great stream of ecclesiastical authority, notwithstanding some eddies and whirlpools, was proceeding in his time with a strong and irresistible force in one direction. To the eye accustomed to the New

\* Orat. xxxix.

Testament, the anti-Christian character of Catholic theology appears too manifest to be mistaken for the evangelical truth. The mystery of iniquity throws off her veil, and exposes her countenance to the multitude, who had lost almost all acquaintance with the apostolical doctrine. The churchmen who represent Jewel's Apology as the ablest defence of the Protestant faith, although the good bishop says, "We, the English Reformers, have approached as nearly as we possibly could do the church of the apostles and the ancient catholic bishops and Fathers which we know was yet a perfect, and as Tertullian saith, an unspotted virgin, and not contaminated with any idolatry or any great or public error,"\* may speak with more caution, because they contend with Tractarians in a false position; but we think it best honestly to confess the fact, and deal with it as well as we can. With this confession, which we are compelled to make, how shall we carry on the dispute with Tractarians?

We are now brought to the rule of faith, and ground of authority in religion. If the Fathers are irrevocably to decide, and ecclesiastical authority is to be Christian law without appeal, we must quietly submit; but, let our opponents say plainly and decidedly how far we are bound by the authority of the ancient church. Is every *obiter dictum* of the Fathers to be cited for gospel? The preponderance of testimony, we admit, is greatly against us; but still, if the Fathers be declared infallible, we can produce counter-testimony, not, indeed, equal in amount, but quite sufficient to confute the claim of infallibility. If they be not infallible, how can we safely rely upon their authority? Supposing they had the general, although not the uniform and unfailing guidance of the Spirit, how do we know that baptism may not be one of the very few points, if very few they were, on which they have fallen into error? Without the assertion of infallibility, the appeal

\* c. v. 15.

to the Fathers is unsatisfactory; but where they contradict one another, and we have "councils against councils, Fathers against Fathers, and Fathers against themselves," the assertion of infallibility only provokes a smile. On this very question it is easy to adduce numerous passages from the Fathers, in manifest opposition to the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; but these will prove, not that the doctrine was rejected by the primitive church, but that fallible men were often inconsistent with one another as well as with themselves. The following instances may suffice to illustrate this remark. The baptism of Simon Magus is referred to by Jerome,\* by Augustine,† Cyril of Jerusalem,‡ and others, to show that the baptism of the body is not sufficient for the purifying of the soul. "Simon Magus," says Cyril, "approached the washing. He was baptized, but not illuminated. His body was baptized with water; but his heart was not illuminated with the Spirit." Baptism is by no term more frequently designated than by illumination, yet Cyril here distinguishes baptism from illumination, as elsewhere he distinguishes it from regeneration. "I speak not," he says, "of the regeneration of the body, but of the spiritual regeneration of the soul."§ He speaks of persons, though baptized, as not buried with Christ, and not having on the wedding garment, and charges the baptized to keep the seal unbroken.|| which, however, in another place he calls indissoluble. Yet no man extols baptism more than Cyril. "Great indeed," he says, "is the baptism which is offered to you. It is a ransom to captives, and the remission of your offences; the death of sin, the regeneration of the soul, the garment of light, the holy and indissoluble seal,

\* Comment. in Ezek. xvi. 4.

† Aug. contra Cres. Grammat. lib. ii. c. 15. Expos. in Evan. Joan. Tract. vi., in Ps. ciii. 1, 9.

‡ Proëm. in Catech.

§ Catech. 1.

|| Proëm.

the chariot to heaven, the pleasure of paradise, the obtaining of the kingdom, the gift of adoption.”\*

But on this subject no writer speaks more decidedly than Augustine, whom I quote because he seems elsewhere to assert the inseparable connexion between baptism and regeneration, in which assertion, so often adduced, one of two things is certain: either that he contradicts himself in this particular, or else that by regeneration he means only the external privilege of an accredited Christian, the outward or church state into which he is introduced by baptism. Either supposition will shake the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, founded upon this great ecclesiastical authority. What language can be more express than that of St. Augustine, when he says, “The washing of regeneration is indeed common to all who are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but the *grace* of regeneration, of which these are the sacraments, by which the members of Christ's body are regenerated with their Head, is not common to all; for heretics, and *false brethren in the communion of the Catholic name*, have the same baptism as ourselves.”† In another place he says, “It is clearly shown that the sacrament of baptism is one thing, and the conversion of the heart another. Nor if one of them be wanting, must we conclude that the other is also wanting, because that” (baptism) “without this,” (conversion,) “may be in an infant, while in the thief without doubt this” (conversion) “existed without that,” (baptism.) “Baptism may exist where conversion of heart is not, and conversion of heart may be where baptism is not understood.”‡ So Augus-

\* Proöm.

† Sicut et nunc jam revelata fides quæ tunc velabatur, omnibus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizatis commune est lavacrum regenerationis; sed ipsa gratia cujus ipsa sunt sacramenta, qua membra corporis Christi cum suo capite regenerata sunt non communis est omnibus. Nam et hæretici habent eundem baptismum, et falsi fratres in communione catholici nominis. August. Enarr. in Ps. lxxvii. ‡ Aug. de Bap. lib. iv. c. 25.

tine speaks of baptism as regeneration where he cannot mean a spiritual change, for he speaks of Simon Magus being baptized without charity, as having been brought forth by the church, but having been born in vain; and adds, "it might have been better for him not to have been so born."\* Again, Augustine considers Simon Magus to have been regenerated to a greater condemnation.† Are we to conclude that Augustine is inconsistent with himself, or that in commending the virtue of baptism he sometimes employs rhetorical exaggeration, which must be corrected by his more sober statements? Be this as it may, there is no ecclesiastical writer who more clearly asserts the distinction between baptism and a moral and spiritual change of heart; and refreshing it is to turn from the tumid phraseology of Chrysostom and the Greeks to something like the simplicity of Christ in the African Fathers. If it be easy, on the one hand, to adduce some passages in favour of the high mystery of baptism, it is not difficult, on the other, to find many distinctly impugning the doctrine which Tractarians defend.

We have glanced at the testimony of the Fathers, and expressed our belief that, although from the close of the second century they generally teach the doctrine of the sacramental efficacy of baptism for the remission of sin, and for the regeneration of the sinner, a clear and consistent statement of the doctrine is not to be collected amidst the conflicting assertions of their venerable folios. Sometimes they appear to make baptism, if duly administered, the infallible means of salvation, the unfailing channel of grace; according to Athanasius, who says, without any limitation, "He who is baptized puts off the old man, and as born from above, is renewed by the grace of the Spirit."‡ Sometimes they make the virtue depend upon

\* Quia caritas deficit, frustra natus est et ei expediebat fortasse non nasci.  
De Bap. cont. Donat. lib. i. c. 10.

† In Ps. ciii. i. 9.

‡ Ὁ δὲ βαπτιζόμενος τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπεκιδύσκειται ἀνακαινίζεται δὲ, ὡς ἄνθρωπον



the faith of the recipients, as Jerome, who, speaking of heretical baptism, says, "which may be understood not only of heretics, but of *such in the church* as did not receive with a full faith her salutary baptism; they received the water, yet did not receive the Spirit."\* And sometimes they represent the faith of the sponsors as the means of securing the grace of baptism; as the author of the work entitled "Questions and Answers to the Orthodox," appended to the works of Justin Martyr, but assuredly not written by him, says of children, "They are accounted worthy of the blessings obtained through baptism, by the faith of those who offer them."† And sometimes conversion is declared to have preceded baptism, and baptism is only the sealing, or assurance, or act of faith, as when Tertullian says, "The laver is the sealing of faith, which faith begins from the faith of penitence. We are so washed, not that we may cease from sinning, but because we have ceased since we were already washed in heart, for this is the first baptism of the hearer."‡ Nor will it be difficult to cite from St. Augustine different passages which seem to prove these several views of baptism; so that as far as that great doctor of the African church is an authority, it is not easy to say which party have the best right to claim the sanction of his venerable name. A great and extraordinary man he undoubtedly was, the chief luminary of the Latin church, to whom it is under inestimable obligation; but it is not easy upon any system, and least of all

γεννηθεῖς, τῇ τοῦ Πνεύματος χρίτι. Athan. in illud Evan., *Quicumque dixerit*. Oper. vol. i. p. 767.

\* Quod quidem non solum de hæreticis, sed de ecclesiasticis, intelligi potest qui non plena fide accipiunt baptismum salutarem. De quibus dicendum est quod acceperint aquam sed non acceperint Spiritum. Hieron. Comment. in Ezek. xvi. 4, 5.

† Ἀξιούνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν, τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ βαπτίσματι. *Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthod.* Quæst. lvi. in oper. Justin.

‡ Lavacrum illud obsignatio est Fidei: quæ Fides a Pœnitentiæ fide incipitur et commendatur. Non ideo abluimur, ut delinquere desinamus, sed quia desiimus, quoniam jam corde loti sumus. Hæc enim prima audientis instinctio est. Tertull. de Pœnit. cap. 6.

the Tractarian, to reconcile his various statements on Christian baptism.

Keeping in view the passages in which he so clearly and expressly distinguishes the washing of regeneration from the grace of regeneration, the baptism of water from that of the Spirit; considering also, as we noticed in a preceding lecture, that he speaks of circumcision as having had the same relation to the new life in the old covenant, as baptism has under the new; and that as none of the Fathers regarded circumcision to be a means of grace, this opinion is as opposed to baptismal regeneration, as it is to the prevalent doctrine of the ancient church; and employing his own principle that on account of the resemblance, the sacrament is sometimes spoken of as the thing signified; so that even when he founds the necessity of baptism upon the doctrine of original sin, he may only mean there could be no need of the sign, if there was not of the thing signified,—we may regard Augustine as the most evangelical of the later Fathers on the subject of baptism. With regard to children, we doubt not he means by the regeneration of baptism little else than admission into a church state. How else can we understand him, when he says, “In baptized infants the sacrament of regeneration precedes, and if they retain Christian piety, conversion follows in the heart, of which the mystery preceded in the body?”\* And even with regard to adults, how else can we reconcile his language with his decided

\* In baptizatis infantibus, præcedit Regenerationis Sacramentum: et, si christianam tenuerint pietatem, sequitur etiam in corde conversio, cujus Mysterium præcessit in corpore. August. De Baptism. cont. Donat. lib. iv. c. 24. The following passage, cited by Mr. Faber, is translated by him, “When little children are baptized, no less a thing is done than that they are incorporated into the church.” Nihil agitur aliud, cum parvuli baptizantur, nisi ut incorporentur ecclesiæ; id est, Christi corpori membrisque socientur. De Peccat. Merit. et Remiss. Cont. Pelag. lib. iii. c. 4. We insist upon the literal version. Nothing else is done when little children are baptized, except that they are incorporated with the church; that is, they are associated with the body and members of Christ.

and strong views of grace and predestination? In these remarks upon Augustine, I do not intimate that he avowedly differed from his contemporaries, nor do I say that he agreed with them; but as he has written more largely and distinctly upon the subject of baptism, we have better opportunity of ascertaining his opinions, and certainly many passages are very stubborn in the hands of Catholic theologians. The Jesuits acted with their wonted craft and skill in opposing the Dominican notions of the preponderating authority of St. Augustine; and we think the Anglo-Catholics have as much reason to fear his views of baptism, as had the Jesuits his doctrine of free grace and predestination. But having admitted that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration in some form, if not in that of the Tractarians, is supported by the preponderance of ecclesiastical authorities, we are not bound to find the explanation of their apparent contradictions.

The moderate theologians of the English church, who represent baptism as one means of regeneration, which although frequently effectual sometimes fails, have endeavoured, upon the accommodation of their theory, to reconcile the apparent inconsistencies of ecclesiastical writers. We noticed this scheme in the previous part of this lecture, and we must now say it does not meet the requirement of the case in reconciling ecclesiastical authorities, while it imposes peculiar and pressing difficulties upon its supporters. Baptism, according to this theory, is a charm which sometimes succeeds and sometimes fails. The efficacy of the water is dependent, it may be thought, upon the dispositions of the parties receiving it; but if their good dispositions exist previously to the baptism of the Spirit which is bestowed solely in consideration of them, we are brought directly upon the Pelagian heresy of the prevenient grace of congruity, in the support of which no true son of the church would expose himself to the fierce anathemas of his mother.

If, on the contrary, baptism is in some instances effectual without previous faith, and in some instances it is not, we are compelled to admit that it is or is not regeneration according to an arbitrary appointment of God, of which no man can ascertain anything with certainty. This middle path has, we conceive, all the objections of the Tractarian doctrine, nor does it afford the least aid in explaining the conflicting statements of the Fathers. A reference to the passages we are about to cite for another purpose, will show that if the holy bishops and martyrs of the ancient church are to be admitted as the witnesses of evangelical doctrine; if their voices not always harmonious are to be heard as authorized preachers of the new covenant; then not the views of the moderate churchman, nor even those of the loftiest Tractarian, sufficiently exalt and magnify the wonderful properties of illuminating, quickening, sanctifying, absolving, immortalizing baptism. There is no medium which we can find between being content with scriptural authority in receiving baptism as a symbol, and admitting the exposition of the Fathers in support of the most extravagant and incredible dogmas.

At these dogmas it becomes necessary for our purpose to take a rapid glance, as the argument in favour of baptismal regeneration chiefly depends upon the authority of the venerable men, "wiser than any persons" of this degenerate age, who propounded them. It is proper we should consider the extravagances and superstitions which we shall be compelled to adopt, if we admit their authority as our directory of faith and practice on the subject of Christian baptism, especially with no more discriminating rule of interpretation than that which Tractarians apply in citing every sentence of any old writer not branded with heresy, as an authority in religion.

In reasoning with Tractarians, I do not press the argument from the incredible superstitions which some of the



Fathers attached to the baptismal service, in order to show that their authority proves a great deal too much, for I scarcely know what Tractarians will acknowledge to be incredible or superstitious. Dogmas, which but a few years ago would have been instantaneously rejected, are now received with veneration; and practices then invariably repudiated, are now pronounced to be of considerable authority. The influence of the theory is progressive, so that we cannot conjecture what practice or belief, if only it be ancient, will be, in a few years, regarded as superstitious. I think, however, every person should know whither the plausible argumentation of the Oxford theologians, if fairly pursued, will assuredly conduct him; and should seriously consider how far he is prepared for the inevitable result.

First of all, it was believed that the element of water at the creation, by the Spirit of God moving upon it, received a peculiar and specific virtue, by which it was especially fitted and appropriated to cleanse and sanctify the soul. Of the metaphysical impossibility of the power of water, or any other material substance, by contact with the body to effect a moral and spiritual change upon the soul, our opponents in their sublime contempt of metaphysics and philosophy may take no account, or probably convert it into an argument in their favour, with the ancient *Credo quia impossibile est*. We have only to say, we are very thankful that in Holy Scripture our faith is subjected to no such rigorous test. Tertullian deems it necessary, in the commencement of his treatise on Baptism, thus to extol the excellency of water:—"You have, O man, first to venerate *the age* of water, because it is an ancient substance, and next its dignity, because it was the seal of the Holy Spirit more agreeable to him than the other elements. Thus the nature of water, sanctified by the Holy One, itself received the power of sanctifying." And again, "All waters, from that first pre-



rogative, at their very origin, when God has been invoked, obtain the sacramental power of sanctifying."\* Allusions to the same wonderful power may be found in Ambrose, in Jerome, and others, of which Dr. Pusey says, "Their view seems to have been of this sort,—that since God had appointed the use of water for baptism, there must have been an appropriateness in it; and again, God imparted to the physical agent properties corresponding to its moral uses."† Yet this ancient virtue and first prerogative of water do not seem to have been sufficient, for the doctrine of the Fathers is, that our Lord submitted to baptism that he might sanctify water to the washing away of sin, and impart to it the power of cleansing the soul. St. Ambrose, for instance, says, that "the waters were washed by the flesh of Christ, that they might have the power of cleansing us from sin."‡ This doctrine is recognized in the baptismal office of the Church of England: "Almighty and everlasting God, who . . . by the baptism of thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, in the river Jordan, didst sanctify water to the mystical washing away of sin." It has been asked in the Tractarian controversy again and again, From what scripture do those who reject the authority of tradition derive this doctrine, for unless the evangelical clergy had some ground for their belief, they would not solemnly thank God for the sanctification of water? The answer, I am sorry to say, is long delayed, and the evangelical clergy seem to be content with tradition as the only reason of their belief in that most orthodox and catholic doctrine of the ancient church, Oriental, and Greek, and Latin, that Christ by his baptism sanctified all water, that it might by its cleansing efficacy

\* De Baptismo, § 3, 4.

† Dr. Pusey adduces on this curious subject the prayer of the old Latin liturgy: "O God, whose Holy Spirit was in the very rudiments of the world borne above the waters, that the nature of the waters might even then receive the power of sanctifying."—*Tract on Baptism*.

‡ Ambr. Exp. Ev. sec. Luc. l. ii. § 83.

wash away the sins of the baptized ; unless, indeed, as they repudiate tradition, their faith in this doctrine of the sanctification of water, is faith in the 1st of Elizabeth, or in the 14th of Charles the Second, commonly called the Act of Uniformity. Why do they not reply to the Tractarians, and give us their authority, if it be anything else than the royal arms of England prefixed to an act of parliament ? With some inconsistency the English church, having already recognized the fact of the double sanctification of all water, presents the prayer : “ Regard, we beseech thee, the supplications of thy congregation—sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin.” In this inconsistency, however, the ancient church had its full share, for the consecration and exorcism of the water formed an important part of the baptismal ceremony. “ It is proper,” says Cyprian, “ that the water be cleansed and sanctified by the priest, that it may have the power in baptism to wash away the sins of him who is baptized.”\* So the council of Carthage decreed in his time that “ the water, when sanctified by the prayer of the priest, washes away sins.” But I need not multiply citations, as the sanctification of the water is in the ecclesiastical writings often represented as an indispensable part of baptism. All this is asserted by ecclesiastical writers of the best credit in the early ages ; and, contradictory as the several propositions appear, and absolutely impossible as it seems, that water should have any power of exculpating the guilty, or sanctifying the depraved, all this is received as of indubitable certainty on the authority of the ancient catholic church.

But may we not ask, Why do Tractarians stay at the triple sanctification of water, instead of following the venerable authority of ancient and orthodox saints, as far as their doctrine can be ascertained, or their example proposed ? Or do Tractarian writers, proceeding further in the same course, for this is no resting-place, and they pro-

\* Cyprian. Ep. 70. See also Tertullian. De Bapt. c. 4.

fess to look higher than to profane acts of parliament, practise some degree of reserve, and conceal their views in loose and indefinite language, intimating rather than asserting the revival of the great wonders of antiquity? Why not consistently and uniformly follow the authority of the ancients? Why not maintain the presence of Christ's blood in the water after consecration with Gregory Nazianzen,\* and Basil,† and Prosper,‡ and Jerome,§ and many others? Why not declare that the consecrated water is red as it moves in the blessed font of immortality?¶ Why not say with Isidore, that it is really the water which flowed from the side of Christ? But where can we stop in these inquiries? We may go through a long series of similar questions until we reach the climax of absurdity, or rather of blasphemy, and ask, Why not believe with Leo, the pontiff, that a man, after baptism, is not the same as he was before, but the body being regenerated, *becomes the flesh of Him who was crucified?* ¶ These opinions are all more or less dependent upon the same authority, the same traditions, the same holy Fathers, sainted bishops, and blessed martyrs, as are the acknowledged doctrines of the Tractarian party.

I have no right, however, to assume, in asserting that these doctrines are supported by ecclesiastical authority, that they prove more than Tractarian writers are prepared to acknowledge at the proper opportunity. In their writings may be found so many references to these statements, without a word of exception, or of suspicion, or of surprise, and so much equivocal and indefinite language respecting them, that it is impossible to say, whether they do or do not believe these marvellous powers and wonderful trans-ementations in baptism. I think their readers have a right to know more distinctly their opinions on these sub-

\* Naz. Orat. 40. de Bapt.

† Basil. De Bapt. lib. i. c. 2.

‡ Prosper. De Promissis, lib. ii. cap. 2.

§ Hieron. in Esai. i. 16.

¶ Aug. Tract. ii. in Joh.

¶ Leo Serm. 14, de Passione.

jects than as yet they have chosen to divulge.—When they celebrate the virtues of holy baptism in the verse of their favourite poem, “The Christian Year,” which Dr. Pusey prefixes as his motto,

“What sparkles in that lucid flood,  
Is water by gross mortals eyed,  
But, seen by faith, 'tis blood  
Out of a dear Friend's side.”

We have a right to inquire, whether to see by faith means to believe; and whether they really follow antiquity so far as to believe that the water of baptism becomes blood, or is mingled with blood after consecration; or if they do not, why they are so fond of the ancient terms, and what sense they assign to them. When writers of this school speak of the incarnation of Christ being imparted to us, and of our being baptized into his body really, and of his descending by the union of baptism into us bodily, we ought to inquire, do they mean the transformation of the body of the baptized into the person of Christ; or, if they do not, what is the precise meaning of the language they employ? They sometimes speak as if, by baptism, the element of the resurrection of the body was implanted by the union with Christ, the resurrection and the life, all which is indeed very ancient and catholic; but do they mean that the bodies of the unbaptized will not rise at the last day? Many similar inquiries are suggested by the indefinite and obscure statements of Tractarian writers, who advert to the language of the Fathers, without saying distinctly whether they receive it in its obvious meaning, or with some reservation. Distinct statements ought to be demanded on questions of such vast importance, that we may know how far this portentous movement has already proceeded. Its future course is sufficiently obvious.

But whatever may be the benefits of baptism, as they are taught by the Fathers, we have a right to inquire of the

Tractarians, and, indeed, of all churchmen who maintain regeneration in baptism on the authority of catholic antiquity, how they know that they inherit the ancient blessings, seeing that they administer the sacred rite after a mode so exceedingly different? Either the holy Fathers, "wiser and better than any who live in these degenerate days," added many superfluous and superstitious ceremonies, to which, however, they attributed great importance, or the modern baptism of the church is a maimed and defective rite, destitute of many indispensable properties. Of catholic theology, prostrate with unqualified submission before the shades of departed saints, and never venturing to whisper a doubt at the sight of a mitre, appearing greater than life in the dim haze of antiquity, especially if stained with the blood of martyrdom, we have a right to ask, If church customs be of authority, and ancient traditions be valid, and venerable bishops be the best guides, and the universal voice of the uncorrupted church (before its catholicity was rent by schisms) be infallible, where now are the various orders of the docile catechumens and the learned catechists, carefully preparing in their prescribed courses for the regeneration of the next festival? Where the studied reserve respecting the mysteries of the baptistry, which the initiated might on no account disclose, and on which the eyes of the profane were not permitted to gaze? \* Where the powerful exorcism by breathing upon the candidate, and expelling from him the demon, who, if by misfortune he were baptized with the catechumen, would pollute and desecrate the thrice-hallowed water? † And where the courageous renunciation of the devil, with the face turned boldly towards the west, and the hand raised in resolute defiance? ‡ And where the anointings before and after baptism with the sacred oil, itself by consecration of the bishop having mystically re-

\* Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. Lec. Int.

+ Cyr. Cat. Lec. xx. 3.

‡ Cyr. xix. 2, 4.



ceived the Holy Spirit? \* And where the most expressive emblem of putting off the old man, by putting off the apparel, † that the candidates, being naked as at their nativity, might be born again as babes in Christ? And where the white robes, the garments of salvation, emblem of the new and glorious nature? And where the trine immersion, great mystery of mysteries, as it signified the three witnesses of the spirit, the water, and the blood, and the three days of Christ's burial, and the three Persons of the holy and undivided Trinity? ‡ And where the lighted tapers held by the newly baptized, as the sign of their illumination? § And where the milk and honey consecrated on the altar, and placed on the tongue as the foretaste of the fruits of the heavenly Canaan? || And where the many other important ceremonies of ancient times, sanctioned and observed by great confessors and martyrs, bishops and patriarchs? Where, I ask, are the ancient baptism, and the honours of the ancient baptistry? The answer of the Tractarians will be, The church is in captivity, the oppression of the secular power is upon it, the profane hand of the civil government has violated the sacredness of the baptistry, rent its veil of awful mystery, exposed its interior to the gaze of the multitude, extinguished its lights, cast away its sacred oil, and given it to be the habitation of unclean spirits, who may haunt it with impunity, as they feel no breath of exorcism, hear no voice of adjuration. The carved work of the sanctuary is broken, and only the scattered stones of Zion remain for the rude altar of her oblations. But have we not a right to inquire, seeing they omit so much of the grand and ancient ceremonial, what authority have they for citing, in defence of their miserably defective rite, all the great and glorious things by which ancient bishops, doctors, martyrs, and confessors, have magnified the full and perfect administra-

\* Cyr. xx. 3. xxi. + Cyr. xx. 2. † Cyr. xx. 4. Tert. Adv. Praxeam, c. 26.

§ Mosheim, Cent. iv. part ii. ch. iv. || Tert. de Bap. c. 7.

tion of holy baptism? If the ancient rites of baptism were unmeaning and unauthorized appendages, what becomes of the incontrovertible authority of those who practised them? If they were duly authorized customs of the church, (and they have all the value which tradition or antiquity can confer,) how is the modern church to be assured that in the neglect of these ancient rites her naked baptism has all the validity and virtue of the original and complete sacrament? But why not stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made his people free? Why allow the tyranny of the profane in the house of the Lord? Why not boldly assert, by deeds as well as words, by glorious actions rather than by stifled complaints, the right of the church to rule in her own sanctuary? Why profanely surrender the holy mysteries of the baptistry, the honours of the cathedral, the privileges of the clergy, and the sceptre of Christ in the hand of his bishop, for a mess of pottage, the miserable secularities, the revenues and baronies, the *panis et circences* of the civil government of this realm? Above all, why make a great schism in the unity of the catholic church for the sake of a national church, which has no communion with the rest of Christendom, no provincial assembly worthy of the name, no convocation (but a shade) for the regulation of its own business, or the assertion of its doctrine and discipline in the rights of its clergy, the liberties of its people, the solemnities of its worship, and the full administration of its sacraments? Who would have thought that to the eyes of ecclesiastics the ancient light was so refrangible as to suffer these extraordinary angles of deflection on descending into the denser medium of these dark and degenerate times?

## APPENDIX TO LECTURE V.

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### NOTE A. Page 187.

AN argument on the inconsistency of the reasoning of those who maintain the doctrine of baptismal regeneration with the evangelical history, similar to that which I have adduced from the words of our Lord to Nicodemus, may be derived from the date of the institution of the Lord's prayer. The anachronism is quite as palpable. According to all writers of this school, the spirit of adoption is the result of regeneration in baptism. The children of God, and they only, have a right to cry, Abba, Father. On this account, the catechumens in the ancient church were strictly forbidden to be present at the repetition of the Lord's prayer. From that service, the prayer of the faithful, as Chrysostom calls it, all the unbaptized were most scrupulously and rigorously excluded. (Chrysost. Hom. 2, in 2 Cor., August. Ser. 42., Tert. De Orat. Dom., Greg. Nyss. Hom. 10, in Ep. ad Coloss., and others.) But were *they* regenerated by baptism to whom this form of prayer was originally given? Before the Pentecost, the disciples were taught to say, Our Father, which art in heaven. On them the noblest privilege of adoption was conferred; and therefore regenerate, but not through baptism, they were early taught to look up to God as their Father, without the intervention of a sacramental service. To give consistency to the theory of baptismal regeneration, the Lord's prayer should have been reserved as a *disciplina arcani* until the day of Pentecost.

Equally, if not more glaringly, inconsistent with the Catholic theory of baptismal regeneration, is the anachronism of the favourite notion of Tractarians that Jesus, by his own baptism, sanctified water to the washing away of sin. The doctrine is, that water had no such cleansing virtue until the effusion of the Spirit at the Pentecost; the assertion is, that this virtue was imparted three years before by the baptism of our Lord, which previous impartation is

recognized in the baptismal offices of the English Church. If our Lord by his baptism sanctified water to the washing away of sin, how did it remain unsanctified until the day of Pentecost?—if it were unsanctified until the day of Pentecost, how did our Lord sanctify it by his baptism? The answer to these and similar inconsistencies is, the sainted Fathers knew better than we can know, and they declare all these things to be true.

The reasoning we have pursued in respect to the necessity and value of baptism as the medium of regeneration, of which the patriarchs and pious men of the old dispensation were destitute, is precisely that which the Fathers themselves selected in their controversies with the Jews, who insisted upon the necessity and saving virtue of circumcision. As Justin Martyr replies to Trypho, “The just men and patriarchs who lived before Moses, and regarded none of the things which the Word assures us were originally appointed to be received through Moses, are they saved in the inheritance of the blessed? And Trypho said, The Scriptures compel me to confess that they are.” Dial. c. Try. p. 292.

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### B. Page 189.

#### ON THE WORD REGENERATION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

It may have been observed, that in the remarks on Titus iii. 5, I considered the clause, “the washing of regeneration,” solely in reference to its connexion with the phrase, “he saveth us,” without interrupting the course of the reasoning by noticing the meaning of the word *παλιγγενεσία*, translated ‘regeneration;’ because its precise meaning, whatever it may be, cannot affect the general argument. In conceding, however, that the washing of regeneration may denote baptism, I am far from conceding that a personal regeneration is in this passage intended. The doctrine of personal regeneration is clearly and distinctly taught in many passages of the New Testament, but into those passages is never introduced the word *παλιγγενεσία*. Although not uncommon in the classics, it is found in only one other place in the New Testament, (Matt. xix. 28,) “Verily I say unto you, That you who have followed me in the regeneration,” or, as the punctuation is uncertain, “in the regeneration ye shall sit upon twelve thrones.” The word manifestly denotes a general and glorious change of the state of things,—the glorious reign of God on

earth or in heaven: it seems precisely equivalent to the phrase, the kingdom of heaven. In the classics, the word is applied to the spring of the year, and to the restoration of a conquered country to liberty and independence. Josephus speaks of the Jews, on receiving the decree of Darius for the restoration of their temple, as feasting seven days for the recovery and regeneration (*παλιγγενεσία*) of their country. In this sense, the apostle seems to refer to the regeneration of the church rather than of individuals, or, in other words, the washing instituted in the kingdom of heaven, the sign of the world to come, the new age rising upon the earth. The Platonists, in imitation of their master, apply the term to the entrance of the soul upon a new state of existence. Plato, in the *Meno*, (§ 14,) represents Socrates citing Pindar and the other divine poets, as saying, that “the soul of man is immortal, and when it comes to an end, which they call death, then it lives again (*πάλιν γίγνεσθαι*) and never perishes.” The *παλιγγενεσία* of the Platonic soul, in the words of the expansion of the Pindaric fragment by some modern translator, was—

“ Loosened from body, winged and fleet,  
 Freely she mounts to purest sky,  
 No more on earth to live, no more to die.

\* \* \* \*

Who freed from earthly dross,  
 And every element of body gross,  
 To intellectual bliss in heavenly seat shall climb.”

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### C. Page 201.

#### PASSAGES FROM JUSTIN MARTYR.

SOME controversy has lately sprung up in Germany respecting the opinion of Justin, on the subject of baptism. He is regarded by some as holding more pure and simple views of this Christian rite than other and later Fathers. In the work on Justin Martyr, by Semisch, recently translated for the Edinburgh Biblical Cabinet, Münscher (*Handbuch der Christ. Dogmengeschichte*) and Starek (*Geschichte der Taufe und Taufgesinnten*) are specified as maintaining this view of his theology. Semisch himself adopts the opposite opinion, although he does not ascribe to Justin the extravagant notions of the efficacy of baptism which were held by the later eccle-



siastics. (See Semisch's Justin Martyr, translated by J. E. Ryland, vol. ii. p. 330—337.) I append the passages of Justin, translated and sometimes abridged in the lecture, that the reader may form his own opinion, if he have not the opportunity to turn to the writings of the Martyr.

Ὁν τρόπον δὲ καὶ ἀνεθήκαμεν ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ, καινοποιηθέντες διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξηγησόμεθα ὅπως μὴ, τοῦτο παραλιπόντες, δόξωμεν πονηρεῖν τι ἐν τῇ ἐξηγήσει.

Ὅσοι ἂν πεισθῶσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῇ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βιοῦν οὕτως δύνασθαι ὑπισχνῶνται, εὐχεσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημартημένων ἄφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συννευχομένων καὶ συννηστευόντων αὐτοῖς.

Ἐπειτα ἄγονται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστί, καὶ τρόπον ἀναγεννήσεως, ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν, ἀναγεννῶνται ἐπ' ὀνόματος γὰρ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, τὸ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι τότε λουτρὸν ποιοῦνται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν, Ἄν μὴ ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν· (ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἄπαξ γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερὸν πᾶσιν ἐστί.) Καὶ διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου, ὡς προεγράψαμεν, εἴρηται, τίνα τρόπον φεύξονται τὰς ἁμαρτίας οἱ ἁμαρτήσαντες καὶ μετανοοῦντες. Ἐλέχθη δὲ οὕτως. Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γένεσθε, ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, μάθετε καλὸν ποιεῖν, κρίνατε ὀρφανῷ καὶ δικαιοῦσατε χήραν, καὶ δεῦτε καὶ διαλεχθῶμεν, λέγει Κύριος· καὶ ἐὰν ᾧσιν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι ὑμῶν ὡς φοινικοῦν, ὥσεί ἔριον λευκανῶ, καὶ ἐὰν ᾧσιν ὡς κόκκινον, ὡς χίονα λευκανῶ. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ εἰσακούσῃτέ μου, μάχαιρα ὑμᾶς κατέδεται· τὸ γὰρ στόμα Κυρίου ἐλάλησε ταῦτα.

Καὶ λόγον δὲ εἰς τοῦτο παρὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐμάθομεν τοῦτον.

Ἐπειδὴ, τὴν πρώτην γένεσιν ἡμῶν ἀγνοοῦντες, κατ' ἀνάγκην γεγενυήμεθα ἐξ ὑγρᾶς σπορᾶς κατὰ μίξιν τὴν τῶν γονέων πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἐν ἔθεσι φαύλοις καὶ πονηραῖς ἀνατροφαῖς γεγόναμεν, ὅπως μὴ ἀνάγκης τέκνα μηδὲ ἀγνοίας μένωμεν, ἀλλὰ προαιρέσεως καὶ ἐπιστήμης, ἀφέσεώς τε ἁμαρτιῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν προημάρτομεν τύχωμεν, ἐν τῷ ὕδατι ἐπονομάζεται τῷ ἐλομένῳ ἀναγεννηθῆναι, καὶ μετανοήσαντι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτημένοις τὸ τοῦ Πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων καὶ δεσπότου Θεοῦ ὄνομα· αὐτὸ τοῦτο υἶον ἐπιλέγοντος τοῦ τὸν λουσόμενον ἄγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ

λουτρόν. "Ονομα γάρ τῷ ἁρρήτῳ Θεῷ οὐδεὶς ἔχει εἰπεῖν· εἰ δέ τις τολμήσειεν εἶναι λέγειν, μέμνηε τὴν ἄσωτον μαρίαν. Καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρόν φωτισμός, ὡς φωτιζομένων τὴν διάνοιαν τῶν ταῦτα μαρνανόντων. Καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ ἐπ' ὀνόματος Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ὃ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν προεκήρυξε τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πάντα, ὁ φωτιζόμενος λούεται.

Καὶ τὸ λουτρόν δὴ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντες οἱ δαίμονες διὰ τοῦ προφήτου κεκηρυγμένον, ἐνήργησαν καὶ ῥαντίζουν ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ αὐτῶν ἐπιβαίνοντας, καὶ προσιέναι αὐτοῖς μέλλοντας, λοιβὰς καὶ κνίσας ἀποτελοῦντας. Τέλεον δὲ καὶ λούεσθαι ἀπιόντας πρὶν ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ, ἔνθα ἱδρυνται, ἐνεργοῦσι,

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Ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὸ οὕτως λούσαι τὸν πεπεισμένον καὶ συγκατατεθειμένον, ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους Ἀδελφοὺς ἄγομεν, ἔνθα συνηγμένοι εἰσὶ, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιησόμενοι ὑπὲρ τε ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως· ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν, τὰ ἀληθῆ μαθόντες, καὶ δι' ἔργων ἀγαθοῖ πολιτευταὶ καὶ φύλακες τῶν ἐντεταλμένων εὐρεθῆναι, ὅπως τὴν αἰώνιον σωτηρίαν σωθῶμεν. Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα, παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν.

Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται, τῷ Προεστῶτι τῶν Ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων· Ἀμήν. Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν Διάκονοι διδῶσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι. Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν Εὐχαριστία· ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν, ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρόν, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν.—Justin Apol. I, cap. 61, 62, 65, 66.

In the Dialogue with Trypho, we find several allusions to baptism in the same strain—

Εἴ τις καθαρὸς οὐκ ἔχει χεῖρας, λουσάσθω, καὶ καθαρὸς ἐστίν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ γε εἰς βαλανεῖον ὑμᾶς ἔπεμπεν Ἡσαΐας ἀπολουσομένους ἐκεῖ τὸν φόνον καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁμαρτίας, οὐς οὐδὲ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ἰκανὸν πᾶν ὕδωρ καθαρίσαι· ἀλλὰ, ὡς εἰκὸς, πύλαι τοῦτο ἐκείνο τὸ σωτήριον λουτρὸν ἦν, ὃ εἶπετο τοῖς μεταγινώσκουσι.—Dial. cum Tryph. p. 229. Ed. Par.

Οὐ ταύτην τὴν κατὰ σάρκα παρελάβομεν περιτομήν, ἀλλὰ πνευματικὴν, ἣν Ἐνώχ καὶ οἱ ὅμοιοι ἐφύλαξαν. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐγεγόνειμεν, διὰ τὸ ἔλεος τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐλάβομεν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφετὸν ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν.—Ibid. p. 261.

Again, after having represented the deliverance of Noah as a type of the salvation of Christ, he says, Ὁ γὰρ Χριστὸς, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως ὢν, καὶ ἀρχὴ πάλιν ἄλλου γένους γέγονεν, τοῦ ἀναγεννηθέντος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δι' ὕδατος καὶ πίστεως καὶ ξύλου, τοῦ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ ἔχοντος· ὃν τρόπον καὶ ὁ Νῶε ἐν ξύλῳ διεσώθη ἐποχούμενος τοῖς ὕδασι μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων.—Ibid. p. 367.

Εἶπον δὲ, δι' ὕδατος καὶ πίστεως καὶ ξύλου οἱ προπαρασκευαζόμενοι, καὶ μετανοοῦντες ἐφ' οἷς ἥμαρτον, ἐκφεύξονται τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐπέρχεσθαι τοῦ Θεοῦ κρίσιν.—Ibid. p. 368.

To the mode of interpreting the words, regeneration, illumination, washing, forgiveness, and similar expressions, I have adverted in the lecture. See also the passage which is prefixed, and which, although it refers to Jewish baptisms, intimates that Justin did not regard any baptism of water as an *opus operatum*, a mystic deed for the salvation of the ungodly. He also clearly distinguishes water baptism from the baptism of the Spirit.—Dial. c. Tr. p. 246.

## LECTURE VI.

### THE MODE OF CHRISTIAN BAPTISM.

“And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water; but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.”—*Acts* xi. 15, 16.

“Hi vero qui in ecclesia baptizantur, minus indulgentiæ et gratiæ divinæ consecuti esse videantur, et tantus honor habeatur hæreticis, ut inde venientes non interrogentur utrumne loti sint an perfusi, utrumne Clinici sint an Peripatetici.”—*Cyprian. Epist.* lib. iv. ep. 7.

BEFORE we venture upon the controversy respecting the proper subjects of Christian baptism, it may be convenient to defend, as briefly as perspicuity will allow, the opinions we hold upon the mode of its administration. Two inquiries are suggested: the one, Are we bound by the terms of the commission to administer baptism according to the form of words there prescribed; that is, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? The other, Is immersion the only proper mode of administering this ordinance?

As to the former inquiry, the command of our Lord seems so clear and absolute, as to admit of no exception. I do not see how any person can baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without mentioning the names of these Divine Persons; by an act of invocation, imploring their blessing; or by an act of authority, administering by their commission; or by an act of dedication, devoting the person to their service. I

dare not absolutely assert that baptism, in the name of Christ only, would require to be repeated in the full and complete formula, but I maintain that the administrator, so far as he makes this commission his authority, is bound by its terms to baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Before this commission was given, baptism, administered by John into the name of Him who was to come, or by the disciples of Christ into the name of Jesus, was, I believe, legitimate and perfect for all purposes, because it was so ordained by the supreme authority; but since the recognition of the Persons is distinctly prescribed, to omit any of them would be an act of disobedience to the command of Christ. It is true that in the Acts of the Apostles persons are said to have been "baptized into the name of Jesus;" but in the brief notices of the several baptisms mentioned in that book, the expression may denote that they received Christian baptism. However that may have been, such incidental notices are not, as authorities, to be opposed to the clear, distinct, formal, and express commission of our blessed Lord. I do not assert that the precise words are essential, for if they were, we must use a Greek formulary; but the distinct recognition of the Persons is not the external form, but the great truth of the service.

In ecclesiastical antiquity, there is a remarkable uniformity respecting the form of words employed in baptism. From Justin Martyr, who says in the passage cited in the preceding lecture, that "converts are washed in the name of the Father and Lord of all things, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit," we find an uninterrupted series of references to this formula. Irenæus cites it as the commission of regeneration given to the disciples.\* Tertullian says, "Christ appointed baptism to be administered, not in the name of One, but Three: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."† The apostolical canons

\* Adv. Hæc. l. iii. c. 19.

† Cont. Prax. c. 26.



order bishops and priests to be deposed who presume to baptize in any other way.\* Athanasius and others declare such baptism to be void as was performed without the mention of the Trinity;† although this was not the general opinion, as in many instances, heretics who had been baptized only in the name of Christ, were admitted into the church without re-baptism, on their confession of the Trinity under the hand of the bishop. The dispute on the validity of heretical baptism was made very much to depend upon the use of this formulary, as will appear on consulting the letters of Firmilian and Cyprian on the controversy, which in those times provincial bishops were not ashamed nor afraid to maintain with the bishop of Rome. The trine immersion became catholic, as an immersion before the name of each Person, and citations to superfluity may be easily found upon the invocation of the Trinity in baptism.‡ This discussion, therefore, need no longer detain us.

The second and more controverted question respecting the mode of administering baptism, may be thus proposed. Is it indispensable, in the administration of this rite, to immerse the subject? We believe that immersion is not indispensable,—that pouring or sprinkling is sufficient to constitute the Christian rite, which is the emblem of the cleansing of the heart by the truth and Spirit of Christ.

But let the opinion we advance be distinctly understood. We do not plead for any one specific mode, we do not contend for sprinkling in preference to immersion, except as a question of right. To act only upon the defensive is our purpose. If, however, it be asked, why we do not submit to immersion, seeing we violate no principle, as we have no religious scruple upon the subject, we reply, that to allow anything which is not imposed in a ceremonial

\* Canon. Apost. c. 49.

† Epist. ad Serapion.

‡ Expos. Fidei, in Opera Justini Mart. p. 377, Ed. Par.

observance to be obligatory upon Christians, is to convert a form into the substance of a sacrament,—to invest the sign, which may be conveniently changed, with the importance of the immutable truth. To immerse, unless we think it obligatory, for the sake of union, would be, as we conscientiously believe, to concede a principle of more importance than baptism itself. If I eat what I honestly believe to be the Lord's supper, even though I should use rice for bread, or the juice of the currant for the fruit of the vine, that to me is the act of submission to the legislation of Christ in commemorating his death; and so, if I observe what I believe is Christian baptism, even though I may be mistaken, that observance is to me the act of submission to the legislation of Christ, in receiving what I believe to be the authorized symbol of Christian truth. He who denies that the washing which I administer in honest obedience to the command of Christ is Christian baptism, ought to have very clear and incontrovertible evidence on which he rests; as he maintains that my conscientious submission to the authority of the King of Zion, in performing a religious ceremony, is invalid, because I have mistaken the form of its administration. Is not this to make a mere form a matter of inherent importance; and is not such a procedure at variance with the spirit of the Christian religion? Sprinkling can be nothing in itself; immersion can be nothing in itself; the kingdom of heaven is not in either, but in "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost;" each must depend for its validity, whatever that term may mean, upon the command of Christ; that is, upon the conscientious construction which each disciple puts upon the words of that command, as he honestly strives to understand it. In any sacrament there is nothing moral, nothing holy, nothing religious, nothing of the least worth, except conscientious obedience to Christ. If I believe that sprinkling is an act of obedience to the command of Christ, in silently submitting to

be immersed with no better reason than that no other mode will satisfy my neighbour, I allow him to legislate for me in the kingdom of Christ. His opinion may be honest, it may be correct, and it is law to him; but it must not become law to me. So long as I honestly believe sprinkling with water to be Christian baptism, of what greater value would immersion be to me, were I to practise it? It would not, in my hands, be submission to the will of Christ, and so far it would not be a religious service. Yet the Baptists declare we have no baptism, deny that to be baptism which we conscientiously believe to be so, on account of a difference in form; and in their controversy among themselves, whether we ought or ought not to be admitted to the Lord's supper, make the whole of the argument turn upon the question, whether unbaptized believers are admissible to the communion of the Christian church. Their doctrine is that, in reference to a positive ordinance, conscientious obedience to what is honestly believed to be the command of Christ, is not sufficient to constitute the Christian symbol of the blessings represented, and that we are to be regarded as unbaptized disciples.

Can this doctrine be consistently maintained by those who believe that no spiritual virtue is derived either from immersion or from sprinkling? Will they deny that the institution is absolute law to others as they conscientiously interpret it? What can there be important in any sacramental institution, any religious emblem, (unless we admit the Catholic or Tractarian theology,) more than the conscientious act of obedience to the understood will of Christ? If I believe sprinkling to be baptism, in so administering the rite, and acting according to my interpretation of the commission of Christ, I do that which my Saviour will acknowledge to be what it really is, my sincere act of obedience to his own command. In these things, whatsoever is not of faith is sin. But if I do all that I

believe Christ requires, and all that with my present belief Christ does require, who is the man to demand more at my hands, and to say I do not virtually baptize, although to the best of my knowledge, and therefore of my ability, I observe the commission of Christ? Have I no Christian baptism because I do not understand Greek quite so well as my Baptist brother? for the whole question is resolved into the meaning of a Greek word. If in that learned tongue I cannot say Shibboleth, but only Sibboleth, has he the right for the philological inaccuracy, and for nothing else, to exclude me from the number of those who are born of water, and therefore have entered into external relation with the kingdom of God? Good Baptist, be not so severe on an erring brother. Than conscientious obedience to the command of Christ, what else there is sacred, what else important, what else valuable, I wish you would tell me; as I have, I trust, as well as you, this conscientious obedience, the essence and reality of the service.

The principle for which I contend being the very life of all obedience to positive institutions, a principle distinguished from all formalism, and identified with conscience, with charity, with liberty, with the right of private judgment, and even with the supremacy of Christ in the church, appears to me far more important than immersion or sprinkling, or any other mode of administering a sacrament. This is our answer to those who say to us, Why do you not, for the sake of union, cease from your sprinkling, and submit to immersion, to which you acknowledge you have no conscientious objection? The Baptist creates the objection by insisting upon the obligation.

I can easily imagine the reply that may be advanced. How far, it may be said, will you carry your principle? will you acknowledge every kind of service, in whatever way performed, which any person may imagine, in the wild vagaries of his fancy, to be baptism, or the Lord's supper?

To this objection I rejoin, The principle is not to be surrendered because it may be abused, or because its application in some supposed instances may be attended with perplexity and doubt. The objection is equally applicable to mixed communion, and to every other recognition of religious acts or religious persons. To the inquiry, How far will you go, and where will you stand? the reply is, So far, and only so far, as I believe the parties, being Christian, have in a Christian spirit arrived at their conclusion. I have no hesitation in saying, I do not regard the sacrifice of the mass by a Romanist, as the commemoration of the death of Christ, because I do not believe that any Christian man could, with due diligence, honestly arrive at such a conclusion; but if I see a Christian man of stern temperance principles, who conscientiously believes, after careful and devout examination, that it is his duty to abstain from wine at the supper, and that his ordinary beverage is the proper substitute, if he communicate with bread and water, dare I take upon myself to say he does not commemorate the death of Christ, and observe all that to him is necessary in the supper of the Lord? If he conscientiously thinks that he observes the dying command of his Saviour, who am I, because I believe that wine should be employed, to say that his conscientious act of obedience to the command of his Lord, according to his own honest construction, is not the emblematical commemoration of the death of Christ? To act otherwise would be not only to walk uncharitably towards my brother, but to impose my fallible interpretation of a positive precept as a universal rule upon the Christian church. The denial of the principle for which I contend, involves in it the assertion that Christ has not imposed upon his disciples the duty of observing his positive institutions, according to their own interpretation of his words. I am here contending, not with those who say immersion is right, but with those



who say there is no virtual baptism without it ; and that I, through my mistake, am not in the kingdom of heaven, or have got into it without being born of water.

So important do I consider this principle, that it creates the chief interest I feel in the controversy respecting the mode of baptism. To decide upon the comparative merits of sprinkling or immersion would, in itself, occupy very little of my thoughts ; but when I find the assertion positively made and maintained, that sprinkling is no baptism even to those who conscientiously observe it, I am induced to look a little further, and to inquire what is the plain, direct, and incontrovertible evidence in favour of this exclusive mode, the defenders of which are so confident and well satisfied, as to declare all Christians except themselves to be unbaptized. When one party asserts that the Independents have no church, and another that we have no ministry, and a third, about as coolly, in the same exclusive spirit, that we have no baptism, they must excuse us, if in this pitiable and forlorn condition, without apostolic church, ministry, or baptism, we attempt to do a little more than to vindicate our own right to decide for ourselves ; and seeing we are thus attacked, to contend for the validity of sprinkling in a controversy on which the exclusiveness of our opponents has conferred a fictitious importance.

I say the importance is fictitious, for, reasoning from an analogous instance, I do not believe the apostle Paul, were he now living upon earth, would think it worth his while to decide the question between the immersionists and the sprinklers. He, as I think can be clearly shown from his conduct in a similar controversy, content with the act of obedience to the command of Christ, according to the understanding of each party, would scrupulously avoid expressing an opinion in favour of either, but would zealously maintain his own doctrine : " Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," or let every man act upon

his own persuasion. I do not wish to affect an air of paradox, but I ask both parties to consider, if this was not precisely his conduct in the controversy respecting the observance of particular days. "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike." Whether this controversy respected the religious observance of the Lord's-day, which we believe to be obligatory upon Christians, or whether it respected the Jewish sabbath, which we believe not to be obligatory upon Christians, or whatever was the day esteemed above others, is of no importance in the discussion on which we are entering. The dispute respected a positive institution, and there must have been a right and a wrong in their controversy. The controvertists, in their zeal for truth or party, no doubt plentifully charged each other with disobedience to the positive law of Christ, on the one side probably with making a sabbath without Divine authority, on the other, with breaking a sabbath which Divine authority had made. These men in the apostolic age were the worthy precursors of modern polemicals. How easily might the apostle, in the plenitude of his inspiration, have decided between them! He knew very well whether the day was, or was not, of Divine institution. Although one word from his lips would have silenced the angry disputants, and established the truth, that word he carefully suppressed. He saw on both sides the same unfeigned respect for the authority of Christ; he saw on both sides all that was good in hallowing the day, if it were appointed to be hallowed, or in not hallowing it, if it were not so appointed; and, therefore, instead of adjudicating the question immediately in dispute, he decided one of far more importance arising out of it: "He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it." Can we suppose that, were he upon earth, he would construe the dispute upon immersion more strictly than he did the question of the Divine

authority of a holy day? Would he not be content with the service which each party believes to be in accordance with the will of Christ? The fair interpretation of his words, so as to be intelligible in the noise and turmoil of modern controversy, is, as I think, He that immerseth, immerseth unto the Lord, and he that sprinkleth, sprinkleth to the Lord. All that is good in baptism, both parties retain. This, as we contend, is the true principle in all positive institutions; and for little else than the Christian liberty implied in it are we careful in this lecture.

I can, and I do, most conscientiously avow, that I have not the slightest wish to make a single convert to sprinkling. Having no preference for any mode, I only attempt to vindicate our right to be regarded as baptized Christians, to which character we have, I believe, as good a title as any church on earth can supply. If, in entering the holiest by a new and living way which Christ hath consecrated for us through the veil, we can but satisfy ourselves that our hearts are sprinkled from an evil conscience, we are in no trouble because our brethren, as they emerge from the baptistry, say that our bodies are not washed with pure water. Although they insinuate, I am grieved to say it, by the press of the Baptist Tract Society, that we are the least in the kingdom of heaven, we have no desire to adjudicate the position which they occupy in the common temple of the Lord's congregation. May both they and we become greater in that kingdom!

As it is our opinion that neither the use of the verb βαπτίζω in the New Testament, sustains the conclusion of our Baptist friends on philological grounds, nor even conceding that the word invariably means to dip, are we, on that account, so to restrict the administration of the Christian rite as to exclude pouring and sprinkling, it would be the most logical arrangement, in the first place, to notice the use and construction of the word, and afterwards to elucidate the principle of interpretation for which

we contend in reference to positive institutions. It may, however, be more convenient to preserve the connexion of what may be called the theological part of this lecture as distinct from the philological; and, therefore, for the sake of completing what we have to say upon the principle of interpreting positive institutions, we venture to reverse this order, and to observe, in the first instance, that, even conceding the whole of the philological question, we are not restricted to the conclusion of our Baptist brethren; and in the next, that their philology is not to be conceded in the discussion of this question. We controvert the conclusion which they deduce from their premises,—we demur to the premises from which they derive their conclusion. I trust that the use of the analytical, rather than the synthetical, order will not obscure the reasoning. If, however, any resolute adherent to logical arrangement should think that we ought first to examine the premises, and afterwards estimate the value of the conclusion, he may, if he please, first read the latter part of this lecture, and then resume the subject from this passage. Many readers will probably think it not worth their while to read, in any form, a lecture upon the everlasting dispute between sprinkling and dipping; and I agree with them, that the dispute in itself is about as trifling as any—vermicular question (Lord Bacon would call it, because the life of the disputants is quickened by the deadness of the subject,) over which the seraphical doctors of the schools ever sharpened their logical intellects. Were it not for an important principle of more general application, which is involved in the inquiry, I would not write another line upon such a subject. By this arrangement, faulty as it may seem, I also consult the comfort of the reader who has no taste for philology, and who may safely get through one part of the argument, without being scared by the barbaric forms of dead languages.

That our baptism ought to be acknowledged, even if we

have mistaken the mode of administering it, I have maintained; because the ordinance itself being only a sign of evangelical truth, the recognition of the truth signified in obedience to the command of Christ, comprehends all that is essential or important. I have now to maintain that we are not labouring under mistake, but that we have full liberty, according to the principles of interpretation stated in the New Testament, in construing the words which relate to a positive institution, to consider its nature and design, and preserving the integrity of the emblem, to adopt in exhibiting it any mode which is in accordance with its nature, and by which its design may be carried into effect. This principle appears to me not only to be scriptural and important, but to demand a prominent place in theology, as the proper antagonist of Tractarianism, and every other species of formalism. Amidst the tendencies of the present day to magnify the importance of form and ritual, it becomes us strenuously to maintain that the signs are made for the things signified, and not the things signified for the signs,—that the signs are not of the slightest value, any further than they symbolise the evangelical truth. Such a principle, it is conceded, is liable to great abuse, and therefore it becomes those who defend it to consider carefully by what restrictions it ought to be guarded, and how it is distinguished from the power of the church to decree rites and ceremonies. Yet, surely, there is an obvious distinction between regarding a sign as having no other importance than that which it acquires from the truth which it signifies; so that, if the signification of the truth be preserved, all that is important in the sacrament is secured; and ascribing importance to a significant act, because it is ordained by an uninspired church. In the former instance we interpret the command of Christ in the spirit which, as we believe, he himself has recommended; in the latter we observe forms because they are enacted by that notorious usurper, called ecclesiastical



authority. In the former, we say, Christ, the only legislator, has ordained so much and no more; in the latter, men, affecting his authority, have ordained so much and no less. Whether we are right or wrong in our opinion, this distinction is plain, obvious, and undeniable.

It is often said by immersionists that in positive institutions we are bound to observe strictly the very words of the precept by which they are appointed, as, unlike moral laws, these institutions have no other authority than that which is derived from the words of the enactment. Mr. Booth and many other Baptist writers strenuously insist upon this obligation. We believe that such a representation is more specious than solid, and that it will not bear the proper test of Scripture. The spirit of moral law is the congruity of the action with the fitness of things; the spirit of positive law is the congruity of the observance with the truth symbolised. In moral obligation there is a right and a wrong, independently of verbal or written law, which is only an exponent of man's duty, and cannot be varied without a compromise of truth. In positive institutions, the congruity of the sign, and consequently its propriety, may vary with the changes of circumstances; and in the variation the spirit of the sacrament may be preserved, when the letter has become inappropriate. The phylacteries of the Pharisees, which incurred the censure of our Lord, arose out of the literal observance of a positive precept, to which neither our Lord nor his disciples ever paid the least regard. The injunction of the Mosaic law was expressed in terms the most distinct and plain—"And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes; and thou shalt write them upon the posts of thine house, and on thy gates." Was every Jew obliged by this law to wear the phylactery upon his hand, and the frontlet upon his forehead, and to paint Scripture upon his door-post? During the scarcity of copies of the law, this

institute was probably observed ; but the erection of synagogues and multiplication of copies rendering it unnecessary, the observance, like many others corresponding with the letter of the law, became Pharisaic, and was so regarded by our Lord. The letter of the sabbatical institution has faded, but its spirit survives in the religious observance of the Lord's day. It may happen, that in the mutations of time the sign may express the reverse of its original signification, and so its unvaried preservation may remain, at the expense of all the significancy of the rite. In such instances, is the external ceremony to be conceded to the evangelical truth, or is the evangelical truth to be sacrificed to the external ceremony? Scripture must decide ; but, before I appeal to its decision, let me observe, that our Baptist friends concede the principle for which we contend, and uniformly act upon it in every positive institution, except that of baptism. Let us glance at their deflections from the literality of positive institutions.

“Salute one another with a holy kiss,” says St. Paul to the Romans. “Greet ye one another with a holy kiss,” he says twice to the Corinthians. “Greet all the brethren with a holy kiss,” he says to the Thessalonians. “Greet ye one another with a kiss of charity,” says St. Peter to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. Here is a positive institution, unequivocally enjoined by apostolical authority. Churches, in various circumstances, and in distant places, are expressly commanded to adopt a specific mode of salutation. Two apostles ordain the ancient sacrament of the holy kiss, the sacred sign of Christian brotherhood and love. Can more be said for the sacrament of baptism? There is in the New Testament no positive command to Christians generally to be baptized, no positive command to any except the apostles to administer baptism ; for the original commission was given to the apostles specifically, as is obvious from the assurance of miraculous power with which it was

accompanied. That baptism is to be perpetuated in the church is a matter of inference, from the fact of its having been administered by those who were not apostles. But for the sign of the kiss we depend upon no such inference; it is armed with apostolic authority, and allows no room for reasoning; we have, what we have not with regard either to baptism or the supper, an express command addressed to several churches. We ask our Baptist brethren, are these five verses of the New Testament frivolous and unmeaning? If it be said the sign of *the holy kiss* (and we do not read of holy baptism, or of the holy supper,) was intended only for the apostolic age, we ask, by what argument can this be proved, which does not equally apply to baptism or the supper? A perpetual sign, or sacrament of brotherly affection, may be as desirable for the church, as a perpetual sign or sacrament of the death of Christ. The only defence, I imagine, our Baptist brethren can offer—at least the only defence I can make for myself—is, the form or sign of brotherly love may be varied, notwithstanding the express injunction, delivered in words as plain as words can be written, provided we express the thing signified; and in our churches all that is important in the holy kiss belongs to the right hand of fellowship, or to any other affectionate mode of salutation. The kiss is nothing more than a sign of which we retain the thing signified, in a form more expedient in this age, and more accordant with modern feelings. I do not immerse, for the same reason that I do not kiss church-members, with this difference against immersion—baptism was a sign expressly committed only to the apostles, and by us received through inferential reasoning—the kiss was a sign expressly enjoined upon the churches; and with this also, in baptism we retain the sign, the use of water, if we change the mode; for the kiss we substitute entirely a new sign.

Sacraments have been defined by Augustine and others as visible words. They are signs of truth addressed to

the eye rather than to the ear. As to the literal observance of signs, whether visible or audible, the principle must be identical. If the disciples of Christ are expressly commanded in their religious observances to repeat certain words, or to do certain acts, as the signs of truth, whatever they may think of the question respecting the duty or propriety of literal adherence to those signs, the words and the acts resting upon the same authority, and designed for the same purpose, are obligatory in the same degree, but only in the same degree, upon the members of the Christian church. How then do we decide the question in verbal formularies? "One of his disciples said, Lord, teach us to pray, as John also taught his disciples. And he said *unto them*, (not to the applicant only, but to them all,) 'When ye pray, say, Our Father which art in heaven,' " and so on. Nothing can be more express than the words, "*When ye pray, say.*" The verbal signs of the Lord's formulary of prayer are prescribed with quite as much distinctness and directness as were ever claimed by the most zealous Baptist for the commission to immerse. Must we, therefore, repeat the Lord's prayer in every devotional service? Must we restrict our public devotion to these words? Or do we regard the formulary as simply a guide for our religious exercise, without being restricted to the use of the identical petitions? Our Baptist friends shall fight this battle on our behalf with such as insist upon imposing this formulary in every devotional service. Every argument they adduce in defence of their departure from the form of prayer will tell with equal force against their exclusive practice of immersion; or if they can devise arguments applicable to words but not to acts, their ingenuity greatly surpasseth our poor comprehension.

Should it be said the name of the rite is implied in immersion; precisely, we reply, as the name is implied in the holy kiss. Sprinkling is in no sense immersion, says the Baptist; and the right hand of fellowship is in no



sense a kiss, responds the echo of his aphorism. If he reply, Baptism is a sacrament, a sacred thing, something more than a mere emblem; then here is the first blush of that Tractarianism which some of our Baptist brethren have recently and most unwarrantably charged upon us. What is there in a sacrament more than an emblem? What is there in baptism essentially different from the kiss of charity? But allowing the mystic sanctity of the sacraments to escape without farther remark, let us notice another illustration of our argument in a rite which is admitted to be of at least equal authority with baptism—an illustration derived also from its scriptural and appropriate name.

Our Baptist friends admit, (at least I have never heard of any who deny it,) that the apostle, by the phrase *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*, the Lord's supper, in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, means the sacramental commemoration of the death of Christ. With them, as with us, the service is commonly called The Supper of the Lord. But what would our brethren say to any person who, having studied logic and philology, "after the most straitest sect of our religion," should stoutly and stiffly contend that a repast in the morning could not be the *supper* of the Lord? Whatever may be the meaning of *βαπτίζω*, the signification of *δεῖπνον* in the time of our Lord is incontrovertible. Relying on the proper and literal translation of the word, would the straitest of the Baptists maintain, that whenever the religious rite is not literally a supper, it is not the authorized and sacramental commemoration of the death of Christ? Certainly instituted after sunset, and receiving the name of the evening meal, must it therefore of necessity be invariably solemnized in the evening? Will any say the first Christians, who assembled before daybreak to observe this rite, did not come together to eat the Lord's Supper? Will they maintain that the modern churches, who keep this feast



in the morning, do not scripturally observe the command of Christ—do not eat the *supper* in remembrance of him? When a Baptist who observes the Lord's supper in the early part of the day says, I cannot baptize unless I immerse, alleging the signification of the word, may I not reply—First cast the beam out of thine own eye—be consistent in the use of a word whose meaning is far more obvious—do not substitute the *ἄριστον* for the *δείπνον*, and celebrate a breakfast instead of a supper.

The heroes of Homer, indeed, partook of their *δείπνον* in the morning, and their successors seem to have made it their dinner; but long before the apostolic age it had become regularly and constantly the evening meal. If that be not baptism which in the proper sense of the word is not immersion, neither is that the Lord's supper which in the proper sense of the word is no supper at all.

The ancient Christians could fabricate a heresy out of almost anything, as the heresy of calling the constellations by heathen names; yet even they, observing the supper most of them in the morning, but some, as in Egypt, in the evening, did not brand one another with the odious name of heretic on account of that difference of usage.

Or even if a Baptist reply, I, most carefully eschewing all such unscriptural innovations, regularly observe the supper in the afternoon, and therefore I am not the *homo* to whom you address your *argumentum ad hominem*, still I inquire, Do you assert that all churches which communicate in the morning, do not rightly commemorate the death of the Lord? If you do not, why is the signification of a word not to be pressed in one instance as you press it in the other, unless it be that in one instance you are free from the sectarian bias with which in the other you are heavily encumbered? Judging impartially, without any undue influence, you say that the sense of a name is not to be pressed in a matter of form or mode of administration, where the death of Christ is commemorated; but

judging under the influence of preconceived opinion, you press the signification of a name in baptism, as if it were the essential part of the ordinance. You admit that to be the supper of the Lord which is no supper at all, and yet, with strange inconsistency, you will not admit that to be baptism which is no immersion.

Nor am I sure that this argument will not touch the Baptist (if such there be,) who uniformly and from principle observes the supper in the evening, and excommunicates, as cordially as if they were unbaptized, all who partake of it a few hours earlier. A supper is a meal, so much food as is sufficient to refresh the body. The small quantity of bread and wine usually taken by each communicant is quite as much a pretence to a supper, a shadow of a meal, as is sprinkling a pretence to immersion, a shadow of a washing. If so small a quantity of bread is yet sufficient for a ritual observance called the supper, why is not so small a quantity of water as we commonly use sufficient for a ritual observance called baptism? Were any church to insist upon the necessity of eating sufficient food to constitute a refreshing meal, our Baptist friends would unite with us in reprehending the disposition to magnify a mere form, and to make it essential to the communion service. They with us would say, the essence of the sacrament is the commemoration of the death of Christ; and the form, provided it be suitable for the commemoration, is not of the smallest importance. They would smile at the learning which cited authorities to prove that the ancients never supped upon one morsel of bread. In so precise an adherence to words, the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life;

“ Mutato nomine de te  
Fabula narratur.”

Should it be said that the service was originally instituted after supper, and therefore could not have been intended

to be a full and refreshing meal, I admit the force of the remark; but this very circumstance shows how little dependence is to be placed upon the name of a positive institution. If a rite, instituted when he had supped and all had eaten sufficient food, is, nevertheless, called the Lord's supper; who, with such an illustration before his eyes, would insist upon the meaning of a name, as indispensable or decisive in determining the nature of a religious observance? Its name, however acquired, does not impose upon us, nor ever did impose upon the church, the duty of making it an evening meal.\* Should any one say,

\* This part of the lecture required only the reference to the supposed case of a man of stern temperance principles substituting water for wine. I venture here to add, as my own opinion, in accordance with these principles, although nothing in the argument depends upon it, that if a reclaimed drunkard feels, as I am told some do, a rising propensity to gratify his old desire if ever he taste wine, it is his duty either to communicate only in the bread, or else to substitute for wine his usual beverage. To encounter the risk of undue excitement for the sake of a symbol, would be to pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, to the neglect of the weightier matters of the law. In the following observations of Professor Stuart, of Andover, I most cordially agree: "The whole symbolical instruction conveyed by the ordinance of the Lord's supper is this; what food and drink, represented by the more important articles of the same, are to the body for its nourishment and support and comfort, that a crucified Saviour is to the soul for its life and preservation and comfort. Could not the inhabitants of a country, then, to whom it might not be possible to procure bread and wine, when it was proper to celebrate the Lord's supper, employ other aliments which would symbolize the death of Christ, and the benefits of that death to the believer, with the like significance?"

"Look at the case of Iceland, during that year in which the island remained, for the whole summer, enclosed in the floating ice that had been driven there from the Polar Sea, and no access from abroad to the island was possible, nor any egress from it. Might not the inhabitants of the island, reduced to live upon fish and water, have celebrated the Lord's supper acceptably upon these elements? Would it not have been as monitory and significant to them, as bread and wine, and as acceptable to Him who instituted the feast? The man who doubts this, must believe in the mysterious and miraculous virtue of the sacrament, as an *opus operatum*. With such an one it is not my present purpose to contend. Christians, as I must think, have reason to bless God that the principles that man cherishes, are fast vanishing away before the spreading light of the Sun of righteousness."—*Biblical Repository*, April, 1833, p. 336. The missionaries in Otaheite, I

he insists upon the precept, and not upon the name, we revert to the precept of the holy kiss; should he appeal to the scriptural name, and not to the precept, we return to the supper; should he compound his argument with both the precept and the name, the supper and the kiss may with equal facility coalesce in the rejoinder. Only let him not misrepresent by making us in the matter of the kiss refer to the name and not to the precept; or in that of the supper, to the precept and not to the name.

It may be thought that some of the instances which we have adduced would justify the change of the symbol for another equally significant. The kiss, for instance, is symbolic, yet we have changed it; the supper, that is, the *evening* observance, is not symbolic; and, therefore, the morning observance preserves the symbol in its integrity. In our administration of baptism we contend that we change no symbol, for, as we believe, the use of water is the only symbol; but our variation, if we do vary, is in a part of the service which is not symbolic, but circumstantial, like the evening hour of the supper. The argument from the kiss of charity is *à fortiori*. If the symbol may be changed, much more are we not inflexibly bound to the part of the service which is not symbolic and, therefore, can be of no importance. There is no necessity to enlarge the ground of controversy, for if dipping, and not water, or dipping as well as water, be the authorized symbol, I can speak for myself, and I am open to conviction; I will henceforth invariably practise it. My reasons for thinking that immersion is no part of the symbol must, of course, be hereafter stated.

The principle for which I contend ought to be distinctly avowed; and then (let the practices of Baptists or of Pædo-believe, as bread was not commonly eaten, substituted some root; at least, the Catholics of the Dublin Review bring against them the heavy charge of so profaning the sacrament; but is there a Baptist in England who would deny that they virtually and sacramentally, although not literally, "came together to break bread?"



baptists be what they may,) to rise or fall on the preponderance of scriptural evidence. That principle is that symbolic and commemorative institutions derive all their value from the evangelical truths which they symbolize or commemorate. The parts, or adjuncts, which symbolize or commemorate no evangelical truth, are subservient to the symbols, just as words are subservient to doctrines; and they are applied to a superstitious use, if they are not strictly kept in that state of subserviency. They are no more essential to the symbols than are the Greek characters to the doctrine of St. Paul. Baptism is an emblematical service, and nothing else. Whatever is not emblematical, is only adjunct and circumstance; and if to it any persons ascribe importance, they assert an importance distinct from the emblem, and, therefore, make the service something else than emblematical. This is our principle. It is fairly exposed, I acknowledge, to the assault of those stricter Baptists, who appear in their weekly communion, their washing of feet, their kiss of charity, and all the antique garniture of primitive institutions, but not to the attack of those who, if they mingle in this fray, will tear down the standard which they follow harmoniously with ourselves in all things except baptism.\*

\* Since this lecture was written, I have found in Dr. Carson's work, p. 379, the following statement of Dr. Miller, which, as Dr. Carson calls it popery, and it is a kind of popery with which I am particularly pleased, I cordially adopt. "Even if it could be proved, (which we know it cannot,) that the mode of baptism, adopted in the time of Christ and his apostles, was that of immersion, yet, if that method of administering the ordinance were not significant of some truth, *which the other modes cannot represent*," (the clause in italics I do not adopt: if dipping be significant of any truth, let us practise it,) "we are plainly at liberty to regard it as a non-essential circumstance, from which we may depart when expediency requires, as we are all wont to do in other cases, *even*" (I omit that word, for the principle has no other application) "with respect to positive institutions." To deny this appears to me precisely equivalent to the assertion, that it is our duty to perform as religious service what, so far as we can ascertain, has no use, meaning, or benefit whatever; precisely equivalent to the assertion that it being my duty to read the Scriptures publicly in the church of God, I am bound to read



Such is our principle. Let us hear what Scripture says about it. "Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath days." Without encumbering the argument with any notice of the meat or the drink, the holy day or the new moon, let us attempt to ascertain the law of the sabbath, as it is found in the New Testament; for if it be correctly ascertained, it will assist us in interpreting other positive institutions. As a Jewish ordinance, the enactment of the sabbath was peculiarly strict and severe, so far as labour was concerned. "Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work, but the seventh is the sabbath of the Lord thy God; in it thou shalt do no manner of work." I need not detain my readers with the inquiry, whether this commandment is or is not to be regarded as imposing upon Christians the duty of observing the sabbath, because the construction for which I contend was authorized by our Lord before the abrogation of the Jewish economy. Rest being secured for servants and domestics by the relaxation of ordinary labour, and sufficient opportunity being afforded for the services of religion, the great design of the sabbath being safe, the literal construction of the positive precept was not imposed upon the Jews; as we learn from our Lord's reasoning in opposition to the traditions and commands of the scribes and Pharisees. Pharisaism adhered to the strict letter of the sabbatical enactment: Jesus taught

publicly the tenth chapter of Nehemiah. Dr. Cox objects to infant baptism, that it confers no benefit, prevents no evil, and contains no moral obligation. If that truly respectable minister will show what benefit immersion confers upon him which I do not possess; what evil it prevents for him which I feel; or what obligation it imposes upon him to which I am not bound; he may enrol me among his converts. As to the popery of this scheme, the popery of private judgment, the popery of receiving no rite, nor part of a rite, which is not emblematical, it has at least one advantage, that if every man would thus become his own pope, the reign of the tiara would cease from the earth. Whenever our brother papists, the Baptists, resign the dispensing power in the matter of the holy and apostolic kiss, they may dispute with us on the popery of sprinkling.

that a devout regard to the spirit was sufficient. Indeed, the literal observance of positive precepts, the title of mint, and anise, and cummin, was the point of frequent debate between our Lord and the Pharisees, who, in strict observance of the letter, lost the genuine spirit of the ceremonial law. "At that time, Jesus went on the sabbath-day through the corn-fields: and his disciples were a hungry, and began to pluck the ears of corn and to eat. But when the Pharisees saw it, they said unto him, Behold, thy disciples do that which is not lawful to do upon the sabbath-day." The Pharisees charged the disciples with violating the sanctity of the sabbath-day by a species of labour; it was doing some manner of work, and undoubtedly infringing the letter of the Mosaic law. What said the great Teacher? Did he reprove or justify his disciples? If they were observing the letter of the law, would not our Lord have vindicated them upon their proper ground? Would he not have said, Here is no breach of the law whatever; rubbing out the corn from the ears is not a manner of work prohibited by the enactment? He did not so defend them. Rubbing out corn was as much forbidden by the letter of the law, as any other kind of work whatever; for if they had so spent the whole of the sabbath, they would have been undoubtedly guilty of profaning it. The spirit of the law imposing rest would have been sacrificed. But our blessed Lord defended his disciples, by citing on their behalf the conduct of David, in quite as manifest a breach of the letter of another positive law. "Have ye not read what David did, when he was a hungry, and they that were with him; how he did enter into the house of God, and eat the shew-bread, which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them which were with him, but only for the priests?" It is evident that our Lord justified the conduct of David, and by the citation justified also the conduct of his disciples. On what principle? The law of the sabbath and the law of the

shew-bread were alike peremptory. To bear the inconvenience of fasting is better than to disannul the command of God. Hunger is no justification of sin. The Gospel gives no permission to the hungry man to steal the bread of his neighbour. A deviation from the law of the shew-bread was conceded under circumstances which would not have justified the least deviation from the laws of morality. Unless hunger justifies theft, we have, in these words of our Lord, a clear distinction in the construction of positive and of moral enactments. The law of the shew-bread was as express as words could be, for it conceded nothing to the importunate hunger of a laic; as was the enactment of the sabbath, for it made no more exception in favour of hunger, or humanity, or necessity, than did the moral law. What becomes of the doctrine so often asserted by the Baptists, that positive precepts are to be construed more strictly than moral laws, or even as strictly as they are? How far is the distinction to be allowed? We have a clue,—how far may we trace it?

No one, I imagine, will construe the narrative as if the disciples were actually perishing with hunger. Had they been utterly destitute of food, Mark and Luke, who say nothing of their hunger, would scarcely have omitted all reference to so important a particular, as its notice would have given to their narrative a very different aspect. Feeling the ordinary sensation of hunger as they passed through the fields, they rubbed corn from the ears; and our Lord defended their act as a justifiable breach of the positive law of the sabbath. But what is the principle of his defence? Unquestionably that, provided the benevolent and religious objects of the sabbath were secured, the letter of the enactment was not worth the inconvenience of a brief cessation from food. "The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath." Can any other interpretation be imposed upon these words, than that the law of the sabbath is obligatory in the generosity of its spirit,

rather than in the severity of its letter? The construction of the law of the sabbath, confirmed by appeal to the law of the shew-bread, we have a right to infer, (for it is implied in the argument of our Lord,) is the true construction of every positive institution. The principle elicited, rather than the inconvenience supposed, is the point to which I solicit attention.

When we say that works of charity or of necessity may be done on the sabbath, notwithstanding the strict and peremptory enactment, on what principle do we repose? When our Lord teaches that the ox or the ass may be pulled out of the pit on the sabbath-day, doth he take care of oxen, or saith he not such things for our instruction? It may be said these were only rare exceptions, justified by the urgency of peculiar circumstances. If they were, they are sufficient to justify similar exceptions in reference to the law of baptism, as for instance, the clinical baptism of the sick penitent when immersion might be perilous, or baptism by sprinkling where multitudes were candidates, and the well of the city was deep, and the water very scarce. But in a country where the climate is unpropitious, and bathing cannot always be performed without danger, and many persons are not accustomed to such an ablution, and from the feelings of delicacy which happily distinguish a high state of civilization, and must on no account be violated, the inconvenience of bathing dresses, and of various decorous and troublesome arrangements, must be admitted: these exceptions, we think, accumulate over the letter of the law; and in Britain we claim the right of not immersing, because baptism was made for man, and not man for baptism.

I will not, however, be content with this bill of exceptions. The Christian law of the sabbath (as our Baptist friends concur with ourselves in interpreting it, and as I honestly believe they rightly interpret it,) will carry us a great deal further than we are required to go, in order to

justify our mode of administering the rite of baptism. Between the law of the sabbath as the Christian church almost universally construes it, and the law of the sabbath in the letter of its enactment, the difference is far greater than that which exists between the immersion and the sprinkling of proselytes. The sabbath is essentially a rest, a day of cessation from ordinary labour, enjoined, not of Moses, but of the Fathers, instituted at the creation of the world, hallowed by the blessing of the Creator on the placid survey of all his works, the only precious relic of the religious institutions of paradise, the only day exempted from the dreadful curse of exhausting toil. Consecrated to rest, it is the memorial of the complacency with which God looked upon the world as complete on the seventh day. The spirit of the law is accredited, in the devout observance of one day in the week, but than the seventh day there is no other sabbath of positive enactment. We commemorate the resurrection of our Lord by the hallowing of the first day of the week, instead of commemorating the repose of creation on the seventh; but to commemorate the resurrection of Christ by the religious observance of any day, we have no express command in all the Scriptures. There is no such positive law in the church. The primitive Christians met to break bread on the first day of the week at Corinth, at Troas, and I doubt not in other places; but that they observed the day as a sabbath we are not told; nor, if they did, that by it they commemorated the resurrection of Christ. Our Baptist friends may have no doubt of the fact,—neither have we; but in the New Testament, our only code, there is no enactment, there is not even distinct information. To commemorate the resurrection of Christ by the festival of the Sunday, is no more a positive enactment of Scripture than to commemorate his death by the fast of the Friday. What then is the law of the sabbath? By its letter I am commanded to observe the seventh day in commemoration



of the creation of the world : but as in its spirit I observe another day in commemoration of another event, in doing so I can appeal in justification to no positive law respecting the change, for of such a law there is not a shadow in the New Testament. It is true this reasoning will not apply to the Seventh-day Baptists, but with the exception, as I am told, of five women and one man, all the Baptists now repudiate Sabbatarianism. If it be said the sabbath is not a Christian institution, I reply, It is, or why do Christians religiously observe one day in seven? The sabbath was not like the passover, Mosaic ; not like circumcision, restricted to the family of Abraham ; but the law of Adam, the law of his posterity, the law of all the world, founded upon a positive command more express, as well as far more extensive, than any which enjoined baptism, or the Lord's supper. Sprinkling is surely as much baptism, as observing the first day of the week is hallowing the seventh. The principles of the Baptists led numbers of people into the religious observance of Saturday. Such I think is their proper tendency ; and in abandoning Sabbatarianism our Baptist friends appear to me to surrender in practice the whole argument which they painfully elaborate by their philology. Their right to substitute the first day for the seventh, in order to commemorate the resurrection of Christ, without a particle of scriptural law, is an authority for substituting sprinkling for immersion, even if they can prove we make the substitution with which we are charged.

To proceed at greater length with the illustration of the principle for which I contend, would be wearisome and unnecessary, or we might refer to numerous deflections from the literal enactments of ceremonial law sanctioned by the prophets in the Old Testament, and by Christ and his apostles in the New. The law of the passover required it to be observed standing. Jesus, in accordance with the custom of the time, sat down to eat the passover. We

have the principle asserted, in opposition to the inflexible literalist, in the words, "He that observeth the day, observeth it to the Lord; and he that observeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not observe it."

But the Baptists say that immersion itself—the act of putting into the water—is the symbol in the service, or rather, (for they seem to allow that water is also symbolic of cleansing,) is one of the symbols authorized in this ordinance. If this be true, our case is gone. I do not mean our case is gone, if there be found in the apostolic writings a figurative allusion to immersion, as a common mode of baptism, for that would in no way affect our reasoning; but if it be proved that the act of immersion, and not the use of water, is the authorized symbol, the very sign or sacrament, I see not what we can do better than surrender the entire argument. We, therefore, somewhat anxiously inquire, Of what Christian truth is putting into the water a symbol? And we are told, Of the burying of the believer with Christ. This reply greatly relieves us, for the burying of a believer with Christ is no more a Christian truth than the going in at the strait gate, or the putting on the helmet of salvation, or the anointing the eyes with eye-salve, or the mounting on the wings of eagles, but like them a figurative expression of Scripture. As the sacraments of Christ are symbols of truth and not of figures, belonging to theology and not to rhetoric, we might without delay fairly dismiss this assertion, were it not that our Baptist friends, or at least some of them, make it so important a part of their reasoning, that it may be thought disrespectful to take no further notice of it.

We have then to consider baptism as a scenic representation of the burial of the baptized with Christ. As Christ was buried, so the disciple is immersed to represent his participation of the burial of Christ. The authorities adduced in favour of this doctrine are: "Know ye

not, that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ were baptized into his death? Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death."\* . . . "Buried with him in baptism, wherein also ye are risen with him."† That these are figurative allusions, no one will deny. The design of baptism, if this be its design, is nowhere ostensibly taught, but only obliquely noticed in figurative language in order to illustrate another subject. If the interpretation of the figure can be found in the inspired writings, we readily acquiesce; but we are not disposed to allow a fallible interpreter of figures to give law to the Christian church, especially when his unauthorized interpretation appears to us incongruous and inconsistent. If I am asked for the meaning of the apostle's language, I reply, (according to my construction of the metaphor, which of course has no more authority than that of my opponents, and disputes upon the meaning of figures are endless,) Do we not satisfy all the legitimate requirements of the figure, in maintaining that all who have the spiritual blessings proposed in the emblem of baptism, have obtained them through the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus? Those who have been baptized not only in the letter, but also in the spirit, are virtually and legally considered as having become united to Christ in the fellowship of his sufferings, and the power of his resurrection; they have figuratively died unto sin, and become alive unto righteousness. But if the expressions are figurative, and represent spiritual things, no man who has not the reality of the baptismal emblem, has been baptized into the death of Christ, or has been buried with him in baptism; while every man who has that reality has been spiritually baptized into the death of Christ, and been buried with him in the baptism of the Spirit. If I am dead with Christ, I have been buried with him in my baptism, not into water, but by his Spirit into his death. Is not this the sense,

\* Rom. vi. 3, 4.

† Col. ii. 12.

and all the sense, of the figurative language of the apostle? We object to the symbol of the Baptists in the first place, because it is unauthorized, except by figurative language, which will admit of another and, as we think, better interpretation. That baptism is the funeral solemnity of a believer, or his interment in the tomb of Christ, is a doctrine which has no sure warranty of Holy Scripture.\*

In the next place the symbol appears to us incongruous and inappropriate. It may be said, we have no right to pronounce upon the propriety of an authorized symbol; but in this instance the supposed resemblance between immersion and burial is the foundation of the whole argument. It is said by the Baptists, sprinkling does not represent a burial; and our reply is, neither does immersion. The momentary and hasty dipping is so little like the solemn act of committing the body to the earth; the water is so little like a tomb; the service so little like a funeral solemnity; the words, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, so inappropriate to the burial of the dead, (and our friends, notwithstanding the use of this formulary, do not profess to bury alive,) that sprinkling itself appears to me as good and veritable a symbol of a believer's burial, as such an immersion.

Besides, the burial is with Christ in his tomb, and therefore the burial of Christ is the model of the service. But was Christ let down into the earth? Was there in his burial any circumstance which can be fitly represented by immersing in water? To lay a person in a tomb cut in a rock, and to complete the sepulture by rolling a stone to the opening, bear no resemblance to any mode of baptism whatever. Our Baptist friends, we think, gain some adventitious aid in representing immersion as the sign of a burial, because the baptistery as usually made in their

\* See a complete and admirable exposition of the passage in the Romans, in Stuart's Commentary.

chapels, in size and form, most fortunately for their argument, (I do not say they take undue or designed advantage of it,) resembles an English grave much more than it does a Jewish sepulchre. Were the image of the sepulchre in the garden to be exhibited in front of the baptistery, the charm of the representation, and with it the force of the argument, would be speedily dissolved.

Or is the scene to be changed? Instead of the tomb of Jesus, are we to think of the usual sepulture of that age? As the burial is with Christ, we have no right to be allured from the garden of Joseph. But seek where we may for a burial, we shall find no resemblance to immersion—not even the poor analogy of an English funeral. Deposited in a Jewish tomb, embalmed in the spicery of the dead, and wrapped in clean linen, our Lord was interred as “the manner of the Jews is to bury.” From his tomb, although “bound hand and foot in grave-clothes,” Lazarus could come forth. To a Jewish burial I see no resemblance in immersion. We are speaking of tombs in which demoniacs found shelter, and robbers a refuge.

But addressed to the Romans, does the representation accord with the funeral solemnities of the imperial city? The Jews buried their dead, according to the manner of their own nation; and the Romans of that age placed the corpse upon a pyre, and deposited its ashes in an urn.\* We have in baptism no sign of cremation. Immersion in Rome would remind no one of a burial. The shadow of the watery tomb would become invisible near the blaze of the funereal pile. If water to the Romans or to the Jews suggested any recollections of the dead, they would more probably be associated with the universal custom of washing the corpse.

*Tarquinii corpus bona fœmina lavit et unxit.*

\* The Christians, at a very early period, renounced the custom of burning their dead, and deposited them in sepulchres and catacombs; but such a distinction could not have become prevalent so soon after the formation of their church.



A burial in water must have appeared to the ancients the most incongruous of symbols, estranged from all their associations and sympathies. The shade of Archytas would have been content, if for the burial of his body only a few grains of sand had been sprinkled over it, (*injecto ter pulvere*,) while it must have remained unburied, had all the waters of the ocean rolled over it. The Fathers, it is true, early adopted this opinion of a burial by immersion; but if their authority be adduced, it is in favour of the trine immersion, as signifying the three days of Christ's burial. Besides, what conceivable thing, which by any remote analogy—any faint or fanciful resemblance—any ingenious metaphor, could be associated with baptism, did not the Fathers include in this great sacrament of most varied and inscrutable mystery?

Again, the representation of a burial is inconsistent with the symbol of the sanctification of the Spirit, which all parties acknowledge to be represented in baptism. The ritual use of water is everywhere in Scripture noticed as the symbol of sanctification, the washing away of sin. All the ablutions of the Mosaic law spake to the Jew of an internal sanctity, represented by the external cleansing. Wash you, make you clean, was the language of their prophets; and their exposition was, Put away the evil of your doings. In the synagogues of the ancient church was read the prophetic description of the purification of the coming age; and the well-known symbol of water was employed, "I will sprinkle clean water upon them, and they shall be clean." In the New Testament the church is cleansed by the washing of water, and its members are to draw nigh to God, having their bodies washed with pure water. This, I may say, is the natural and universal language in which the symbol speaks to all mankind. Water, among all nations who have used it in their religious rites, (and what nation having a ritual has not used it?) has ever been regarded as the proper emblem of purification. What else was the meaning

of the diurnal and nocturnal ablutions of the Egyptian priests,\* the baptisms of the Persians, the Indians, and other barbaric tribes,† the bathings and sprinklings of the Greeks in all their mysteries, the lustrations of the Romans, whose olive branch, as the instrument of sprinkling, corresponded with the hyssop of the Hebrews? Vile pagan oracles, all of them! some may exclaim. They are just as pagan as that awful voice heard at their sanguinary altars, which declares that the blood of the victim is a deprecation of the punishment of sin. In both instances, those oracles utter their response in harmony with Holy Scripture.

But I need not pursue these remarks any further, for our Baptist friends, although they assert that baptism is the representation of a burial, also acknowledge that it is the emblem of the washing away of sin. We maintain that the two emblems are inconsistent, and cannot be associated without confusion—cannot be blended in one service without destroying each other. To attempt the symbolizing of both by the same act is, on account of the contrariety between them, to symbolize neither. If at the baptistery I am told the water represents the grave of Christ, and also the purification of a Christian, I am unable in one sign to realize both significations. If the shadow of the tomb of my Saviour, or that of the bath of my regeneration, fall upon the water, I can discern the outline; but if both fall upon it together, the lines are confused, and the image of neither can be distinctly traced. Or if we attempt to unite them, we have before us the ludicrous image of a man washing in a grave, or dying in a bath. I would not depreciate the powers of my Baptist friends, least of all at this moment would I ascribe to them any poverty of imagination; but I do not believe they so far transcend us in this particular as to be able to combine the two emblems without confusion, and to make the same service, with sobriety and edifica-

\* Herodotus, ii. 37.

† Witsius, *Ægypt.* l. ii. c. 16.

tion, represent a cleansing and a burial. The laws of figurative language are the laws of emblematical representation. Because Christ is in Scripture represented as a vine, and a door, who would plead Scripture in justification of saying in one sentence, Christ is a grape-bearing door, or denounce the rhetorician as a profane scoffer who should expose the absurdity of such a figure? Although such a denunciation has been uttered against those who venture to smile at the washing in a grave, yet with the utmost respect for the religious feelings of my brethren, which ought to impose seriousness upon a spectator, I cannot believe that so incongruous a representation is made in the act of Christian baptism.\*

\* Our Baptist friends have recently exhibited something like a disposition to emulate the ancients in proposing a great variety of truths as set forth in the symbol of baptism. Dr. Carson cultivated his imagination in this department of theology, until it became as prolific as that of Chrysostom or the Gregories. I doubt whether the most eloquent and fervent preacher on the virtues of the great mystic solemnity ever wrote such a passage as the following: "To be born of water most evidently implies that *water is the womb* out of which the person who is born proceeds. That this is the reference of the figure, whatever may be supposed to be its meaning, cannot for a moment be doubted by any reflecting mind." (There is therefore the end of sprinkling to every mind capable of a moment's reflection.) Dr. Carson continues: "Here the figure must signify the washing of the believer in *the blood of Christ, which is figuratively represented by the water in baptism.*" (Baptism not Purification, p. 61.) And yet Dr. Carson most zealously contends, that baptism figuratively represents the burial of the believer with Christ. But does the water of baptism symbolize all these things at once? Is the one act of baptism the representation of so many different objects as the birth of a believer issuing from the water, and his washing in the water, and his burial into the water, and withal his burial before his birth, as I suppose he is put into the water before he comes out of it? All this must follow, if from every figurative allusion to baptism, we are to seek the evangelical truth which it is designed to represent. We admire the noble candour of Dr. Carson, although it be accompanied with the most contemptuous vituperation of all who venture to differ from him. His criticism on the birth of water ought to be adopted by all who agree with him in the exposition of a burial with Christ in baptism. The two refer to the same principles. How Dr. Carson proves that the water of baptism represents the blood of Christ, I must show in his own words, lest I be charged with misrepresentation in expounding matters which I do not understand. He says, "In Rev. i. 5, Christ is said to wash us

But, to adduce the objection to which I have already adverted, the burial of a believer with Christ, being only a figurative expression, cannot be represented in baptism. The Christian sacraments are signs of evangelical truth, and not of tropes and metaphors — shadows of realities, and not the shadows of a shade. There is in reality no more a burial with Christ, than there is a crucifixion with him. Had a believer been actually enclosed in the tomb of Christ, would it have been to him of the slightest advantage? If the body of Judas Iscariot had been interred in the garden of Joseph, instead of lying exposed in the field of blood, would he, like the man cast into the sepulchre of Elisha, have felt the vivifying influence of contact with the body of a prophet? If it be said, that not the burial of the believer, but the truth implied in the figure, is represented; the inquiry properly arises, What resemblance does that implied truth bear to immersion? How is the simple truth itself, divested of the embroidery of figure, symbolized by the act of immersion? Be it that by the figure the expiation of sin is intended, or be it the sanctification of the sinner, or be it any other spiritual blessing, (for I concede any latitude here, provided we have a blessing and not a trope,) and that spiritual blessing has no more resemblance to immersion than it has to sprinkling. On the analysis of the figure, the shadow of the tomb over the baptistery vanishes like the mirage on the water when the object itself comes into direct view. If the spiritual blessing intended bears no resemblance to immersion, the attempt to represent the figure which clothes it, is to degrade the ordinance of bap-

from our sins in his own blood. Christ washes us by his Spirit in his own blood. But his blood is the cleansing element in which we are washed. This shows that *to be born of water is to be washed in the blood of Christ!*" We learn one thing from Dr. Carson, who has written a book on the elucidation of the properties of figurative language, that if we admit several modes of performing the Christian rite, our Baptist friends contend for several things represented by it.

tism from its proper position in theology, to the subordinate office of being ancillary to the imaginative paintings of rhetoric. Baptism is not a sacrament dedicated to the service of rhetoric, but a symbol of the Divine immortal truth which, in passing before our feeble sight, invests itself for the moment with the fading figures and fugitive colours of terrestrial imagery. On account of all these reasons I maintain, that in baptism there is no representation of the burial of a believer with Christ.

To find a reality for the shadow, some Baptists declare that immersion is the sign of the death and burial of Christ himself. I am unwilling to ascribe this representation to any who do not themselves assert their faith in it, as I believe many of our Baptist brethren would disavow this opinion, if it were ascribed to them, or if their attention were seriously directed to its implications. As, however, some influential writers do deliberately assert that they represent by immersion the burial and resurrection of Christ, they are, I suppose, prepared to defend this assertion against all opponents. But if the immersion of a person in water represent the burial of Christ, the person so immersed is proposed as the representative or emblem of the blessed Redeemer. Unless the man or woman immersed, so far as that service is concerned, represent Christ, there can be no emblematic representation of the burial of Christ. But is the baptized person to be considered as representing Christ to the spectators? or is he to consider himself in the service as an emblem of Christ? If he be, this controversy on immersion assumes an awful importance. A man of like passions with ourselves, being put into the water, is proposed as a representation of Christ being laid in his tomb! I will recognize no man in that character. I will not so profane the immaculate person of the Saviour. No Christian, without doing violence to his best feelings, can look upon his fallen brother as performing a mystic representation of Christ



dying for the sins of men. I do not stay to inquire how it can be said to a man, who in the service is an emblem of Christ, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; because, instead of reasoning upon this supposition, I will protest for the honour of Christ against any one who pretends to act the part of the blessed Redeemer in the most solemn engagement of his death, burial, and resurrection. Elevate a crucifix before the baptistery—carve the figure of the dead Redeemer in wood or in stone, rather than propose a sinful man as the representation of Him who for the redemption of the world was dead, and buried, and is risen again. I restrict this language to those who assert that baptism is the representation of the death and resurrection of Christ, because I cannot persuade myself that our Baptist friends universally hold this opinion. Happy shall I be if any of our brethren, still retaining their sentiments, would be induced to desist from this objectionable language; but let them speak as they will, we must maintain that baptism is nothing else than the use of water (use it how you please) as the sign of the sanctification of the soul, because we believe that to represent it in any other view leads to lamentable perversion or gross caricature of evangelical truth.

We leave this part of the subject with a summary, which, we trust, will be sufficient to prevent misapprehension. We have maintained that in a symbolical service only the symbol is imposed upon the church, and the mode of exhibiting it is of no importance; and further, that in the baptismal service only the use of water, and not the immersion, is symbolical of Christian truth. It is, however, obvious that, whatever may be the importance of these principles in other controversies, they do not come into operation in this controversy, unless our Baptist brethren establish their averment by sound philology, as they have made it without hesitation or reserve, that βαπτίζω, properly, invari-

ably, and exclusively, means to dip, in all Greek,—Classic, Hellenistic, and Ecclesiastical.

As the whole argument does not depend upon philology, we may now, I hope, with more calmness, and less asperity than is sometimes shown in handling the words baptize and baptism, discuss their meaning and use as they occur in the New Testament.

On entering this interminable controversy, a novice feels some difficulty in reconnoitring the proper position of the combatants. They seem to misunderstand each other. One might suppose that some principles of interpretation were agreed upon on both sides; or if they were not, that the parties had better retire upon truce to study in quiet the laws of philology. But I find the sprinklers charging the immersionists with attempting to bind the ethereal movements of language with iron and inflexible laws; and, on the contrary, the immersionists charging the sprinklers with abusing the rational liberty of language until it becomes the wildest licentiousness. That a living language is ever varying, both parties ought surely to admit; that no variation ought to be assumed or pleaded without evidence, appears as incontrovertible a proposition. The amount of evidence which ought to suffice designates, I fear, the boundary of everlasting skirmish.

That the verb βαπτίζω should have preserved one only and invariable signification, which can be exactly expressed by an English verb, from the ballad-singers of the Homeric poems (if so early it existed) down to the prosing chroniclers of the Byzantine history (for so late it flourished)—in poetry and prose, oratory and philosophy—would, if proved, be, I imagine, the most extraordinary phenomenon in all the languages of our many-tongued race. If βαπτίζω be, as we are told, to dip, and nothing else, I do not believe a second pair of verbs, so exactly corresponding, so nicely balanced, running for so many ages in parallel grooves, is to be found in the wide extent of the two

languages. Greek and English verbs do not usually file off in double columns quite so evenly, and keep step quite so regularly, in all their countless evolutions. Believing, as we do, that this word was not exempt from the accidents of time and ordinary fluctuations of speech, we cannot imagine by what inflexible destiny it can have preserved its one only sense unaffected through many ages of culture and of corruption—the solitary evergreen in the vast forest of deciduous vocables—deciduous in their signification, as Horace beautifully represents them in their use, the only exception to the maxim,

*Nedum sermonum stet honos et gratia vivax.*

In English our great lexicographer has endeavoured to confine in its channel the flowing stream of speech, but already the words have broken through the embankments of Johnson, and are silently, but surely, subverting his massive piles of learned labour. That the fluctuations of language, as of fashion, are beyond the control of sages, may be seen in the aspect of two words which we perpetually encounter in this controversy—to dip and to immerse. They seem to have deflected from each other much more widely than they had done in the days of Johnson, as will appear on comparing the more modern attempts of Webster, and others, at English lexicography. We think, therefore, if we are required to repose with unlimited confidence upon the meaning of a Greek word in the New Testament, we have a right to require some confirmation of that meaning from the New Testament itself.

On the other hand, we are charged by our Baptist friends with making unfair use of the vagaries of language, and assuming at our pleasure changes of signification without evidence; so that we leave room for evasion, and propose no certain exposition of our words. There may be some reason for this complaint, and I feel, without for a moment

intimating that my brethren would not do the same, bound by the laws of honourable controversy to say what I think is the proper meaning of the verb βαπτίζω; and if I suppose it has suffered any change of signification which affects this question, to state in what that change consists. The Baptists have good right and sound reason in demanding that every controvertist say without evasion what βαπτίζω is, and what it is not, lest they be left to fight with a shade; and if their opponent, thus exposed in open field, be defeated, in exposing his true colours, they ought not to exult over him, but to acknowledge that he fell fairly and honourably fighting.

I feel also bound to admit that some writers on our side of the question have asserted too much, when they have said that no fair inference can be deduced from the citations of the classics, on account of the discordant idioms and fashions of classical and Jewish Greek. I cannot conceive how the Greek Testament is to be translated, if its words are not to be understood in their classical import, unless there are reasons to believe that a new signification has been adopted. That new senses abound, I readily admit. When a Jew speaks Greek, although I do not expect to hear the mellifluous language of Xenophon, or of Plato, yet, unless I have some intimation of barbarism, I must look to Greek authorities for my interpretation. Paul might have been thought a barbarian on Mars' hill, a setter forth of strange gods to those who listened to a strange dialect; but all who would translate him must first resort to the Greek lexicon, and afterwards go the round of the Hellenistic idioms and the oriental barbarisms. If we assert that the verb in question is found in the New Testament, varying from its classical signification; our Baptist friends may reasonably require us to produce the evidence of our assertion. Whether I fail or succeed, I would rather fail than evade so reasonable a demand.

I fear, however, we have an unsettled account respect-

ing the primary and classical sense of the word; and until we understand each other upon this point, we can do very little with the secondary signification.

Our first inquiry, therefore, before we approach the New Testament, must be, What is the primary and classical meaning of the verb βαπτίζω?

By the primary meaning, I do not mean the radical signification, but the meaning which we ought first to assign to it, so far as it can be ascertained from existing documents. The sense of the root, I mean of the common root of the two forms βάπτω and βαπτίζω, we are not competent to investigate. We know not the language in its primitive simplicity, before it assumed its present inflections. The meaning of the old *bap*, (for etymologists tell us it was once in good credit with *tup*, and *grap*, and *lip*, and *blap*, and all their rustic contemporaries in the valleys of Greece.) we cannot ascertain, as the hoarse Pelasgian has so long been expelled from the melodious refinement of Greece. The servant of rude shepherds and warrior tribes, whether it washed their sheep, or dyed their fleece,\* or tempered their metal,† or stained their spears with blood,‡ or smeared their faces with wine lees at the goat feast.§ we can conjecture only from the uncertain traditions of its polished substitutes. We know not anything with certainty respecting the meaning of the primitive; and even if we did, it would render us very little assistance in determining the precise signification of its derivatives.

The first inquiry is, Do the two verbs βάπτω and βαπτίζω perfectly coincide? Previously to examination, reasoning upon the analogies of language, we should conclude that intimately related they would bear a considerable resemblance to each other; but that, coexisting in the language for many ages, each would be affected by the mutations of time, and eventually assume its own distinct and

\* Aristophanes Plut. 530.

† Sophocles Ajax, 651.

‡ Æschylus Choëphoræ, 1011.

§ Aristophanes Equites, 523.



proper character. Such kindred words are like twin children, usually resembling each other most closely in their early years. To supply the wants of man, whose voluble tongue is ever admirably ministering to the new suggestions of his mind, cognate terms readily adapt themselves to specific parts in the interpretation of thought. We have, therefore, without inquiry, no right to assume that the words are identical in their meaning.

As βαπτίζω is formed from βάπτω, some grammarians have made it a frequentative, to baptize often; others a causative, to make some one baptize; others a diminutive, to baptize a little; others an intensitive, to baptize very much. For any of these senses, I have never seen satisfactory evidence adduced. The following particulars I just observe in passing; but I must leave the illustration, so far as it has any bearing upon the subject, to an appendix. In their usage, βαπτίζω occurs very seldom in the earlier writers, more frequently in the later, with whom it seems sometimes to occupy the place of the βάπτω of the older books.

In the general sense, βάπτω seems more nearly to resemble our word to dip, or put into a liquid; βαπτίζω to make to be in the liquid in any way. We dip our hands (βάπτω); but sink a ship (βαπτίζω). Although the later writers occasionally use βαπτίζω in the former sense, as in the instance cited by Gale from Plutarch, yet, I think, the distinction is generally observed. βάπτω has peculiar secondary senses, as to dye, to colour, to stain as with blood, to smear, to temper metals, to glaze pottery; βαπτίζω is exclusively used in the New Testament, in reference to the religious baptisms of both Jews and Christians; although a pagan, when speaking of this religious rite, uses the verb βάπτω.\* Indeed, the verb never occurs in the New Testament, except in connexion with a religious rite, or else in a figurative sense.

\* Arrian Epist., lib. xi. c. 9.

The Baptist writers maintain, (or have hitherto maintained, for since this lecture was delivered, I have learned that their opinion on this subject is changed,) that the two words have invariably and precisely the same meaning, to dip, and nothing else; so that Gale, Booth, Maclean, and all whom I have consulted, reason with perfect confidence from one word to the other. Some curious instances of the difficulties of their theory have been adduced in this controversy for a century and a half, and yet they have steadily maintained it. Thus, when the author of the pseudo-Homeric mock-heroic poem of the Frogs and the Mice, says of Crambophagus, one of his brave little cold-blooded champions of the water, mortally wounded by his whiskered foe, the lake was baptized with his blood,

"Gasping he rolls, a purple stream of blood  
Distains the surface of the silvery flood,"

Dr. Gale did his best, with learning and logic, to prove that the meaning is, the lake was, as it were, dipped in frog's blood; and his party greatly applauded his skill. I am, however, happy to learn that, although all the objections of the Pædobaptists founded upon this passage produced no impression, our Baptist friends following a new leader generally declare, that good old Dr. Gale, with all his Greek, (and he had no small quantity of that article,) had no true taste for figures, or he could not have endured the lake dipped in frog's blood. The fact, however, is chiefly important as limiting the ground of controversy, and enabling us to disencumber ourselves of an intruder which has no right to be heard in this discussion, unless he can explain the meaning of his cognate. Although I think I have observed a disposition on both sides to introduce *βάπτω* silently and surreptitiously, as if it were the true *βαπτίζω* in an antiquated dress, I do not propose in this lecture to make any further reference to it, as it is not the legitimate subject of our inquiry.

Leaving βαπ and βάπτω, let us attempt to ascertain the meaning of βαπτίζω, as it is found in the classical writers.

We believe that βαπτίζω is to make one thing to be in another by dipping, by immersing, by burying, by covering, by superfusion, or by whatever mode effected, provided it be in immediate contact. A body placed in a tomb, or a man shut in a house, is not strictly baptized, but a body put in the surrounding earth of a grave, or a man covered with the ruins of a house, is baptized. As the action of the verb refers in almost all instances to liquids, although not of necessity, for it may apply to solids of a soft and permeable nature; it may simplify the matter to say that Baptists explain the word as uniformly meaning to put the thing baptized into the liquid: we contend that it means to make the thing baptized be in the liquid, however it be done. To put a thing into water is, as they say, to baptize it; this, as we say, is the truth, but not the whole truth; for to put the water over the thing is also to baptize it. With them nothing is baptized unless it be dipped into the liquid; with us every thing is baptized which is covered with the liquid. With them to baptize designates the mode in which the object is accomplished; with us it designates no mode at all, but only the accomplishment of the object. With them to baptize is to dip, and nothing else; with us it is not to dip, nor yet to overwhelm, nor yet to pour, but it has a more general signification which has no reference to mode; and it may be effected by dipping, or by overwhelming, or by pouring, or by any other mode in which the baptized thing becomes in the baptizing substance. The earth was as truly baptized by the flood, as a stone is baptized when thrown into water; with this difference, the earth was baptized by water, the stone is baptized into water. Some of the modern German lexicographers, I refer to those who have devoted their days and nights to making lexicons of parti-

cular authors, and nicely defining the distinctions of words, would say a great deal more so ; for I find, so far as I have opportunity to consult them, they ascribe dipping to βαπτίζω, only as it occurs in the later Greek authors, when it intruded itself very much into the place of βάπτω. Ast, for instance, one of the ablest of them all, in his Platonic lexicon distinguishes βαπτίζω from βάπτω by rendering the former *obruo, opprimo*, to cover over, to oppress, and nothing else, (his instances have been cited in this controversy,) and the latter, *immergo, tingo*, to immerse, to dye. According to his last and best lexicographer, Plato knew nothing of immersion in baptism. Be it observed, this is not my theory. I am prepared to assert, not that βαπτίζω is distinguished from βάπτω by signifying a different mode of effecting its purpose, but that the distinction is in its being used in a more unrestricted sense without reference to the mode. If Baptists produce instances in which βαπτίζω implies dipping, in an author referred to, in Plato for instance, their controversy is so far not with me, but with better scholars, who, at least in reference to particular authors, distinguish the two verbs as I have stated. I have no right to extend the authority of the lexicographer beyond his specific author, but I have a right to conclude, that he would not attribute to his author an improper use of the word. Ast, for instance, would make Plato write, not as a barbarian, but as an Athenian. While I do not shield myself with the authority of Germany, I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise, that our Baptist friends should so generally assert, that all Greek scholars agree with them in opinion.\* Few Greek scholars, I imagine, will agree with them that βάπτω and βαπτίζω designate the same mode of doing the same thing: when a boy is said to be baptized with questions, few Greek

\* I must except Dr. Carson, who, as I find since this was written, candidly acknowledges that, as to secondary sense, the lexicographers and commentators are all against him.

scholars would say that βάπτω might have been used in the same connexion.

At this point in the crisis of this controversy, I have to answer an inquiry which is sometimes proposed to those who assert that to baptize is to cover with water, as well as to put into it, What do you gain if you prove your assertion, for your sprinkling is not covering with water? I care not what we gain, or what we lose, so that we find the truth. So long as we are perpetually cross-questioning one another, or asking ourselves what each will gain or lose in the several steps of an argument, we shall not be likely to reach the truth in safety. What do we gain? If we prove our point, we gain the truth, and is that of no importance in the controversy? I wish to gain no more, let the truth be what it will; but if our friends will concede this point, they will soon see what we shall gain, and what position both parties will henceforth occupy. If they will not concede it, we must trouble them with the evidence of our assertion.

That to baptize is to make a thing be in water, (introducing the term water for the sake of convenience, although things may be baptized with oil, or earth, or any fluid or friable substance,) to cover with water, as well as to put into it, I am confined by the limits of a lecture to a very brief outline of the evidence. I therefore cite three passages, each of which is a representative of a class which might be adduced. I select one in which the connexion defines the sense of the word; a second in which the action of the verb is accomplished by overflowing or coming upon; a third in which the verb simply represents the state of being enclosed, without any reference to the mode in which the enclosing or covering was effected. As these instances are quite independent of each other, if any one is conclusive, our case is proved. That all are conclusive, I conscientiously believe; and will, therefore, adduce them as our witnesses good and true, unless, of



which I have no fear, they break down in cross-examination.

The first passage I cite, as defining the sense of the word, is the verse of the Sibyl respecting the city of Athens, as it is given by Plutarch, in his life of Theseus.

Ἄσκος βαπτίζῃ, δύναι δέ τοι οὐ θέμις ἐστι.

In this line, the contrast between βαπτίζειν and δύναι supplies the definition for which we are in search. The true version of the words, we contend, is, As a bladder thou mayest be baptized, but thou canst not dip.

Loosely the line has been translated, The bladder may be dipped, but never drowned; but nobody will seriously contend that δύναι is to be drowned. Our Baptist friends, I believe, translate the verse, "Thou mayest be dipped, but thou canst not sink." If they do, (and how else they can translate it consistently with their philology, I know not,) they grievously abuse the promise of the ancient Sibyl, as the following considerations will make manifest.

Δύνω is no more to sink than βαπτίζω, if by sinking is meant going deeper into the water than just below the surface. The action of the verb δύνω is fully and perfectly accomplished, as soon as the bladder is an inch or a line below the surface of the water. There is, indeed, no necessity of going downward at all to act the part of δύναι in his full costume and perfect propriety. Had the bladder entered a perpendicular wave and risen at the same moment, provided it did not emerge, it would have played the part of δύναι to perfection. Βαπτίζομαι, often used in describing ships as foundering, implies sinking quite as much as δύνω. Δύνω, δύω, and δέμι, in some forms and tenses neuter, in some transitive, is simply to enter. With prepositions, it may be made to sink, or to rise; but the simple verb is to go in, and, as every school-boy knows in his lessons in Homer, to go into clothes, or to go into arms. It is used, like βάπτω, for the action of a sword entering the body,—the *visceribus ferrum mergere*

of the Latins. In reference to the sun it simply marks its setting, its passing the edge of the horizon. The *δύσις* of the stars is at the moment of their setting, as the *ἄδυτον* is the inaccessible part of a temple. Applied to passion, *ἐνδύει*, it enters the heart. The illustrations are innumerable; indeed the neuter verb corresponds, with little variation, with the Baptist explanation of *βαπτίζεσθαι*. Delightful it is to our friends to trace the analogy between baptism and burial, and the dead are said *δύνααι γῆν*, or *δύνααι κατὰ γῆς*. Moreover, there is another form of this verb which they ought especially to respect—*δύπτω*, their own dip, in sound as well as sense, applied to animals dipping their heads, but not sinking, who are said to be *εἰς ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ δύπτοντες*.\*

But if the bladder cannot dip, how can it be baptized? Its floating image among the waves supplies the solution. Does the bladder enter the wave, or does the wave break upon the bladder? It floats upon the surface and cannot dip, but the curling wave may fall upon it, and so for a moment it is covered. The oracle is interpreted, As a bladder, the wave may pass over thee, but thou canst not go into the water. Thou mayest be baptized, but thou canst not dip.

The word is thus defined by its contrast with another which in many respects resembles it; and a more satisfactory definition could not be obtained. Let me not here be misunderstood: I say not that the bladder might be dipped without being baptized, but that it might be baptized without being dipped. To be baptized it is quite enough that it be in the water, whether by immersion or superfusion.

We have before our eyes a distinction between to baptize and to dip, unless the Baptists should say that *δύνααι εἰς ὕδωρ* is not to dip into water; and when they do, it will be quite time enough to charge upon such a phantom.

\* Apoll. Rhod. Argon. lib. i.

If this opinion needed any further confirmation, the connexion of the Sibylline verse with the history in Plutarch would readily supply it. The bladder originally and properly belonged to Theseus. That perfidious lover of Ariadne was, like many licentious men of old, very piously addicted to the use of oracles, and he received at Delphi a response which assured him that as a bladder he should sail across the sea in its swell—

*Ἄσκός γὰρ ἐν οἴδατι ποντοπορεύσει.*

His bark was to pass over the sea in the swell. The waves might break over it, but it could not be dipped. This oracle, in which the bladder was the figure of the ship of Theseus, the Sibyl afterwards applied to the city: of the ship, therefore, as well as of the bladder, it must be said, Thou mayest be baptized, but thou canst not dip. The city may be overwhelmed with the passing wave of calamity, but it cannot be immersed in its flood; as the ship of Theseus might have been overwhelmed with the billow, but it could not be immersed in the sea.

Many heavy waves rolled over Athens. She was often baptized, but at last she was immersed. Her Sibyl failed her. In the midst of the ravages and devastations of Sylla, her citizens, we are told by Pausanias, received at the shrine of Delphi their ambiguous response. Something was said about the story of the bladder,\* but before it was pierced by the sword of Sylla it had floated long enough to assist us in defining baptism, often overwhelmed, but never losing its buoyancy—often baptized by superfusion, but never by immersion.

This oracle of the Sibyl will explain a passage of Pindar, which in this controversy is often cited against us. In allusion to the floating cork of the fisherman's net, the poet says, "Not to be baptized I am as a cork upon

\* Τὰ ἐς τὸν ἄσκόν ἔχοντα.

the ridge of the sea.”\* The meaning, as explained by the Sibylline verse, is far more poetic and beautiful than that which our Baptist friends assign to the passage. The cork is never covered by the wave, but always rises on its surface. It not only does not dip, (οὐ δύνει,) as the scholiast says, but is not even overwhelmed. If it be asked, How shall the bladder be baptized and the cork be unbaptizable? we answer, that the bladder was exposed to the fury of the storms, but as men do not fish in great storms, the cork is never covered by the waves.† So we may explain a class of passages which speak of baptism by waves as that of Libanius, cited by Mr. Ewing, “I am one of those overwhelmed by that great wave.”‡

Let us now select an instance in which the action of the verb βαπτίζω is accomplished by bringing the water upon the thing baptized, and not by putting it into the water. One good, clear, unequivocal, instance will be quite sufficient; for if the verb mean to put a thing into the water, it cannot mean to put the water upon the thing, although it may include both significations in its generic meaning. That instance we find in Aristotle—“They say respecting the Phœnicians, who inhabit the parts called Gadeira, that they sailing without the pillars of Hercules for four days with an easterly wind, came to some desert places,

\* Ἀβάπτιστός εἰμι, φελλός ὄς,  
Ἵπὲρ ἕρκος ἄλμας.—Pyth. ii. 140.

+ ——— alone, and as entranced,  
Counting the hours, the fisher in his skiff  
Lay with his circular and dotted line  
On the bright waters.—*Rogers' Italy.*

The unbaptizable cork of Pindar may be illustrated by the verb φελλεύειν, noticed by Hesychius, to float as a cork, which rises upon the wave without being covered; and still better by the Phellopedes, cork-footed people, of Lucian, (Ver. Hist. lib. ii.) who, walking on the sea, were not baptized, (not overwhelmed, as appears by the contrast,) but keeping over or above the waves, οὐ βαπτιζομένους ἄλλ' ὑπερεχόντας τῶν κυματῶν.

‡ Αὐτὸς εἰμὶ τῶν βεβαπτισμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου κύματος ἐκείνου.

Epis. 25.

abounding with rushes and sea-weeds, which on the ebb are not baptized, but in the flood are deluged.\* To the Greeks of the Mediterranean the ebb and flood of the great Atlantic tide must have been a marvellous phenomenon. When Aristotle says that the land at low water was not baptized, what else could he mean than that it was not covered with the water? In this baptism the water must have gone upon the rushes and sea-weeds, for he never could have dreamed of their going into the water. A more perfect and unexceptionable example cannot be desired. It does not depend upon the variable customs of that age, or upon historical events, of which inaccurate accounts may have reached us. If we know the customs of the ocean, the immutable laws of the tidal wave, we are as competent to judge of the meaning of βαπτίζω in this instance as were the Athenians themselves. Aristotle, the faithful teacher of nature, had to relate an extraordinary fact; and we may be sure he would have been scrupulously exact in the selection of his words, in order to make the description as truthful as possible.

To dispel any doubt, if a doubt could exist, we have another word not in contrast, as in the preceding instance, but in conformity with baptize, intended to express the same action in a varied phrase. At the ebb the shore is not baptized, but at the flood it is overwhelmed, or covered over with water (κατακλύζεσθαι). About the meaning of this word there can be no controversy. Nobody ever imagined it meant to dip. But how it spoils the figure which Dr. Gale suggests—the shore at the ebb is not dipped, but at the flood it is covered!

On coming to this passage, Dr. Gale, as if affected with an unpleasant consciousness, was disposed to parley about

\* Λέγουσι περὶ Φοίνικας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὰ Γάδειρα καλούμενα, ἔξω πλέοντας Πρακλείων στηλῶν ἀπηλιώτῃ ἀνέμφῃ ἡμέρᾳ τέτταρας παραγίνεσθαι εἰς τινὰς τόπους ἐρίμους, θρόνους καὶ φύκους πλήρεις, οὓς ὅταν μὲν ἄμπωτις ἢ μὴ βαπτίζεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ πλημμύρα κατακλύζεσθαι.—De Mirabil. Auscult., 136.



conceding the point for which we contend. He says, "The word βαπτίζω, perhaps, does not so necessarily express the action of putting under water, as in general a thing *being in that condition*," (if he had said *coming into that condition*, he would have exactly expressed our meaning,) "no matter how it comes so, whether it is put into the water, or the water is put over it; though, indeed, to put it into the water is the most natural way, and the most common, and is therefore usually and pretty constantly, but it may be not necessarily implied." Very excellent indeed is this remark of Dr. Gale. The mode in which the thing is most commonly done, is most commonly intended in speaking of it; and hence the secret of a majority of instances of baptizing into water, as compared with those of baptizing with water. Dr. Gale adds, "However that be, the place makes nothing at all for our adversaries, and therefore as they'll not insist on it," (Won't we, Dr. Gale, insist on it?) "I will dismiss it when I have desired you, if you believe there is any difficulty remaining, to consider it impartially, and to examine it by the rules I laid down for understanding metaphorical, elliptical, &c., forms of speech."\* But why consider rules for the understanding of metaphorical, elliptical, and all the interminable *et cetera* forms of speech? Where is the difficulty to be solved? Aristotle was the last man, and especially on the phenomena of tides, and more especially in this cold, narrative sort of style, to glare and gloss with a great outlandish trope about not putting the shore into the sea, with all its rushes and fucus, a worthy companion to that other trope, about dipping the lake in the blood of the wounded frog. As to the comfortable sort of proceeding in dismissing the passage, because we will not insist upon it, if we allow our pieces, as soon as they come into good play, to be surreptitiously taken off the board, under the pretext that we do not care for them, the Bap-

\* Reflections on Wall, p. 117.

tists may very easily cry Cheek-mate most lustily. If the concession in this paragraph had been made more candidly and less covertly, without the ill grace of the allusion to rules of metaphor, I should not have looked further for an instance of candour and superiority to the tactics of a partisan, which it is refreshing to quote. Dr. Cox, in his excellent work on baptism, says, "A person may indeed *be immersed by pouring*, but immersion is the being plunged into water, *or overwhelmed by it*. Were the water to ascend from the earth, it would still be baptism, were the person wholly covered by it." I see not what philological question there is between Dr. Cox and myself, as practically we both make a part do for the whole, he baptizing only the head (for the body is baptized without his aid) and I only a part of the face, and we both call the act baptizing the person. If the dispute be brought to this point, Christians ought to be ashamed to spend a moment of their precious time and expiring energy over such a wretched altercation. Grant that affusion is baptism, (as Dr. Cox does, if only there be enough of it,) and the question becomes one of degree, which may be speedily settled. It assumes the form, How much of a man needs to be baptized? Is it not his feet only, but also his hands and his head? To prove that superfusion may be baptism, I cite Aristotle with Dr. Gale assenting reluctantly, and Dr. Cox cheerfully. As to the question of degree, the only true orthodox dipper, the only Baptist who baptizes the whole man, I have ever seen, was among the shades of ancient ecclesiastical history,—an anathematized heretic lowering his disciples into the water head downwards, by the convenient machinery of a stage and ropes.

To this class of instances belong the figurative expressions, baptized with taxes, baptized with cares, baptized with debts, baptized with calamity, not into taxes, cares, debts, or calamity; and many similar phrases. An admirable illustration has been cited by Mr. Ewing, from Liba-

nus: "He who with difficulty bears the burden he has, would be baptized by a small addition"—would be overwhelmed by it. I have seen βαπτίζομαι in these phrases rendered, to sink; but the verb is not to sink, according to any translation. If it be, what becomes of the distinction between βαπτίζομαι and δύνω, as maintained by the Baptists? and, further, into what does the person sink under the small addition? Will any living man maintain, that such an immersion is intended when a man is baptized by a small addition to his burden?

We now want an instance of the thing baptized becoming enclosed in something else, without reference to the mode in which it became so enclosed—the simple baptism *in*, without the *into* or the *with*—the immersion or the superfusion. To define this abstract sense of the word may be attended with some difficulty, as it is always easier to say with precision what a writer expresses, than to say what he does not express. When a word occurs as infrequently as βαπτίζω (and the unlearned reader should know it is not of very frequent occurrence, as it is not found in several of the more important of the Greek classics), it may be difficult to find the pure naked verb, without some extraneous encumbrance of mode and fashion, seeing it cannot come forth naked,—is not presentable in society without some modal dress. It cannot act without some mode, as a man cannot paint without some colour: yet to baptize, may have no more reference to a specific mode, than to paint has to a specific colour.

Let us seek our illustration in the abstractions of the Platonic schools. Their teachers speak of the soul as baptized in the body, or as baptized in matter, or as baptized in the dregs of creation. Baptized during life, sometimes as in a sepulchre, when death is their regeneration; sometimes in a prison, when death is their liberation.

\* Ὁ δὲ μόλις ἂ νῦν φέρει φέρων ὑπὸ μικρῆς ἂν βαπτισθεῖη προσθηκῆς.

The soul is surely not dipped into the body. In the loose sense in which Dr. Cox uses the word immersion, without reference to mode, we may say the spirit is immersed in the body, but the Platonists evidently mean by their baptism the becoming enclosed in the body, whether, as they sometimes speak, the soul enter the body, or, as at other times, the matter concrete around the soul. The soul, however it came there, by direct infusion, or by the conglomeration of matter around it, was baptized through life, until it emerged by philosophy, to adopt their mystic phraseology, or else by death, "a psychical principle, not consubstantial with body, to converse with immaterial forms." The idea was a favourite one with Plato himself, although he does not use the term baptize, as it was with the disciples of Pythagoras generally. Our Baptist friends are fond of pursuing the parallel between a baptism and a burial. Plato, or his master Socrates, in whose name the disciple speaks, in that curious dialogue *Cratylus*, taught that essences being evolved from names, the body, *σῶμα*, is truly *σῆμα*, the sepulchre of the soul. "The ancient Theologues and Mantists," says Clement of Alexandria, alluding to the doctrine of the Pythagoreans,\* "testify that the soul is buried in the body as in a tomb." The material is represented as adhering tenaciously to the spiritual, and as enclosing it in darkness. When the soul is said by the later Platonists, in allusion to this doctrine, as old as Pythagoras, and it would seem, as Orpheus himself, to be baptized in body, ought not the word to be considered as simply asserting the enclosure without reference to the mode? The *σῆμα* was a mound of earth thrown over the dead, and such according to the Platonic theology is the body to the baptized spirit. According to the commentary of Olympiodorus on the *Phædo*, for whose perfect orthodoxy in these profound abstractions, Thomas Taylor, the great modern Platonist, most fully and expressly vouches,

\* *Stromat. lib. iii.*

the bodies of men were condensed from the vapour and smoke of the blasted Titans, encircling their souls as a prison in which baptized, until they were purified from Titanic pollution. I select a passage in which the soul baptized in its body, is said to sink in matter, distinguishing the baptism from the sinking, which takes place when the soul lies engrossed in matter. This may probably place the simple idea more distinctly before the mind, than when only the baptism in the body is mentioned. Take the passage of Plotinus, in *Ennead*, i. lib. 8, as cited in Taylor's *Dissertation on the Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries*.\* “'Αποθνήσκει οὖν, ὡς ψυχὴ ἂν θάνοι· καὶ ὁ θάνατος αὐτῇ, ἔτι ἐν τῷ σώματι βεβαπτισμένη, ἐν ὕλῃ ἐστὶ καταδύναι καὶ πλησθῆναι αὐτῆς, καὶ ἐξελθούσης, ἐκεῖ κείσθαι, ἕως ἀναδράμῃ καὶ ἀφελῇ τὴν ὄψιν ἐκ τοῦ βορβόρου.” “It dies as soul can die. Death to it, *being still baptized in the body*, is to sink in matter, and be filled with it, and going out, to lie there, until it return upward, and remove its sight from the mire.” This particular, although it appears to me satisfactory, may not be as evident as the other two, because the word is presented in its abstraction from all accompaniment of form.

We conclude from these instances that βαπτίζω is not to dip, and has no reference to mode, because it is distinguished from a verb which in that connexion means to dip, because it is employed when the baptizing substance is brought upon the thing baptized, and because it is used in a sense which excludes all reference to mode. Thus we may readily account for its varied construction; as to baptize into, which will usually mean to immerse,—to baptize with, which will usually mean to overwhelm,—to baptize in, which designates neither the one mode nor the other. If the word itself designates no mode, we can baptize in any, and designate it by the construction of the sentence, the use of prepositions, or the other nice and



beautiful contrivances with which the Greek tongue is so abundantly provided.

Let us now, on leaving the Lyceum and the academy to consult the sacred oracles of Mount Zion, carry with us one remark,—that if this theory of baptism be wholly subverted on further examination, it will not bring down in its fall the reasoning from the New Testament. That reasoning may lose some illustration, but it stands upon a distinct and independent foundation. Our case is, that in the New Testament the words baptize and baptism occur in appropriation to religious rites in which there was no immersion, either in the strict sense of dipping, or in the loose sense of covering, at least in the emblematical and visible acts. Let me explain the reason of introducing the last clause. It may be said that men were baptized into Moses, baptized into Christ, baptized into his death, baptized into the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which expressions, if literally translated, would be immersed into Moses, immersed into Christ, and so on; so that the force of the verb may expend itself through its own preposition *εἰς*, into its own noun, Moses or Christ, and leave the mode of using water indefinite. It may, on the other hand, be said that the word, coming by appropriation to designate religious rites, so adhered to them that, even when there was no immersion at all, it was still retained by the inspired writers and teachers. The former I should call a figurative sense; the latter, a secondary sense, which upon the whole I prefer; but I am not required to decide this question, but only to prove that, according to the usage of the New Testament, there was baptism without immersion, or at least without immersion in water.

If it be asked, How should the appropriation have arisen so early, I am not bound to discover its rise. I must bear the burden of proof, so far as the fact is concerned, but I have no right to take the additional load of ascertaining

the cause. It is not necessary for my argument, as I have suggested, that there should be any exclusion of immersion at all, unless it be contended that immersion into Christ is not sufficient to meet the requisites of the text. As there were divers baptisms of the Jews before the Christian era, the name might have been first appropriated to immersions, and afterwards extended to all religious washings among the Jews who spoke Greek. Or it might have arisen from the religious rites which received this designation being usually, although not uniformly, performed by immersion; or it might have been at once given from some analogy, or unexplained circumstance, as another ordinance was called a supper, being instituted after supper was ended, and being no more a meal than sprinkling is an immersion. Our business is with the use of the word, but not with the history of its variations.

Let me not be represented as saying that immersion is excluded. The use of the term, as appropriated in the New Testament, may be illustrated by many similar appropriations in the classics. If I say that *χειροτονεῖν*, to stretch out the hand, came to signify to elect, when the election might have been effected by any other means, am I to be charged with saying, that Grecian elections were never made by the original mode of stretching out the hand? So in contending that immersion is not necessarily intended, I do not deny that it may often be included in the term. Sometimes there was immersion, sometimes, as I believe, there was none; sometimes the immersion might have been partial, sometimes complete. I do not exclude it, but I deny that it was uniformly intended by the word, or implied in its use.

It may, however, be said, Will you, on account of any supposed difficulty of obtaining water, or of the impossibility of immersing numbers, or of the improbability of immersing women in accordance with the habits of some eastern countries, or of similar perplexities, which Pædo-

baptists so commonly produce, propound your argument in opposition to the original and accredited name of the ordinance? The Baptist gives fair notice that, whatever the difficulties, he will deny that any person was, or could have been baptized without immersion. I admit that I have no right to reason from the difficulties of the disputed practice, if the usage of the word be clearly, distinctly, and uniformly against me. I therefore prefer to adduce the instances not from the disputed rite of Christian baptism, but from the other baptisms mentioned in the New Testament; and if they establish a variation in the usage of the word from its primary sense, I may then fairly, seeing the philological question is open and unsettled, without affirming that either party is right, propound the difficulties in attempting to ascertain the apostolic practice.

“ Moreover, brethren, I would not that you should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses in the cloud, and in the sea.” This passage, notwithstanding all the attempts to explain or evade it from the beginning of the controversy to this day, remains a clear, unexceptionable, incontrovertible instance of baptism without immersion. Two facts are ascertained on the authority of inspiration, which no Christian can impeach; the one declared by St. Paul, the fathers were all baptized in the sea; the other taught by Moses, not one of them was immersed in the sea. For the hundredth time the Baptists say this verse has been protruded before them, as it probably will be protruded before them to the end of the controversy, should it unhappily continue until the millennium. Every moment we loiter upon this verse seems time misspent, for in its own simplicity, without the verbiage of commentators, it is most clear, forcible, and impressive. There was the baptism of a nation into Moses, and not a man was immersed. How then were

they baptized? I do not know. It might have been by the spray of the sea, it might have been by the rain sent down from the cloud. The Psalmist may, or may not, supply the exposition. "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee, they were afraid, the depths also were troubled, *the clouds poured out water.*" Whether the Israelites were, or were not, baptized in that water I do not assert; but I am quite sure they were in some mode *baptized* in the sea, and I am quite sure they were in no mode *immersed* in the sea, because I believe both Paul and Moses.

Our Baptist friends usually say, this is only a figurative expression. Of what is it a figure? They say of the passing through the sea; but Paul had just stated that fact in plain terms, and his rhetoric is not of the kind which first states a fact in plain terms, and then, as if the writer had nothing else to do than to spend his time in superfluous writing, repeats it in a figure, and so obscures the meaning. "All our fathers passed through the sea." What elucidation is afforded by repeating the thought in the words, "and were all baptized in the sea?" Besides, like Aristotle with the tide, St. Paul writes here not to produce effect, but to give correct information. "Moreover, brethren, we would not have you ignorant that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and were all baptized into Moses." Does St. Paul mean, I would not have you ignorant of what never occurred? I would not have you ignorant of a piece of rhetoric, that all our fathers were baptized into Moses, when not one of them was really baptized? That there was no immersion for Israel, was the glory of the passage through the sea. While we protest against the principle of resorting in controversy to the aid of trope and figure in the exposition of plain passages, we are sure that such an immersion would be of all possible figures the most incongruous, and the least impressive, obscuring rather

than elucidating the history. Besides, the baptism was into Moses, the syntax corresponding with the baptism into Christ; and immersion is just as much or as little implied in the one phrase as in the other.

This passage may illustrate the words of Peter, in speaking of the flood, "wherein few, that is eight souls, were saved by water; the like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us." Some resemblance between our baptism and the state of the family of Noah in the flood, is implied in the words. But the eight souls were not immersed. In the strict sense of immersion, even the old world was not immersed—not dipped, for the water came upon them. In no sense was Noah immersed in water. We baptize with "the like figure whereunto," according to the mode in which Noah and his family were baptized, and not according to that in which the antediluvians were drowned; for our baptism is significant of salvation, and not of destruction.

Let us now observe the baptism of the Pentecost. John said, "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance, but he that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." Were Lexicography herself, uttering her oracles through her hundred tomes, to declare that Jesus dipped his disciples into fire, I would reclaim, and say that no fact in the evangelical history, no doctrine of the evangelical theology, corresponds with such an exposition. To confirm this promise, Jesus said, "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." Ten days afterwards the Pentecost brought the baptism of the Holy Ghost,— "Suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them cloven tongues like as of fire, and it sat upon each of them, and they were all filled with the Holy Ghost." On the day of Pentecost Jesus baptized his disciples with the Holy Ghost, and with



fire. The apostle Peter says, Jesus has shed forth this which ye both see and hear. I am aware that some of our opponents have charged us, in speaking of the baptism of the Holy Ghost by pouring, with representing the blessed Spirit as in material form poured down upon the disciples; but whatever incautious language may have been used, the Baptists know very well that such gross ideas of the Divine nature belong to our theology not a whit more than to their own. To prevent misrepresentation, I am anxious to confine my remarks to the emblems of the Spirit with which the disciples were baptized. Something audible and visible was shed down, for Peter says, Jesus "hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." Something fell on the disciples which represented the gift of the Holy Ghost. The tongues distributed as of fire sat one upon each. Were they immersed into those emblems? Were they even covered with them? If they were baptized in the strict sense of immersion, the emblems of the Holy Ghost must have been in the room before they entered. In the sense of covering or overwhelming, the emblems could not have "sat upon each," but must have descended to the ground, and so enclosed them on all sides. With regard to all that was visible, all that could be modal, all that could be shed forth, there was no immersion. "Not many days hence," after Jesus gave the promise, the disciples were baptized with the Holy Ghost. As Jesus baptized them, although he did not immerse in the emblems, so we baptize, humbly imitating his example, although neither do we immerse in the emblems. As the evangelical writers call that act of the Lord baptism, the word had become accommodated to a sense in which immersion was not necessarily understood, and for that sense we appeal to the words, "he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire." It affects not the inference to say, as Theophylact said long before, the word denotes the abundance of the supply of the Spirit. The inquiry is not why the

word was used, but what it designates ; not how great the supply, but whether the baptized were immersed in it. We, therefore, in proof of our averment that the word in the New Testament does not necessarily imply immersion, add the baptism of the Pentecost to that of the Red Sea. To these texts I appeal ; and through the rest of the lecture, in attempting to show that some passages may be best explained, and some pressing difficulties may be avoided, by supposing the word baptism did not imply immersion in designating the religious rite, I must be understood as continually leaning upon these two instances. The subsequent remarks may be easily met, by objecting with a peremptory or oracular tone, according to the temperament of the objector, baptism is immersion and nothing else, and therefore we care not for the difficulties with which you may implicate the subject ; but if these instances have shaken that doctrine and left it open for controversy, (to assume no more) such an objection is inadmissible in fair argument. It becomes our duty to ponder the perplexities of the case.

In seeking further illustration from other references to baptism as distinct from the Christian rite, we may confirm our remarks by noticing the daily baptisms of the Pharisees, and the divers baptisms of the Jews.

Although the Pharisaic baptisms mentioned in the Gospels have been so frequently considered in this controversy, yet I have never seen anything advanced by our Baptist brethren, sufficient to diminish in the slightest degree the force of what appears an obvious and incontrovertible argument, that these baptisms were washings without immersion.

"Then came to Jesus scribes and Pharisees, which were of Jerusalem, saying, Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders, for they wash not their hands when they eat bread ?" \* "Then came together unto him

\* Matt. xv. 1, 2.

the Pharisees and certain of the scribes, which came from Jerusalem; and when they saw some of his disciples eat bread with defiled, that is to say, with unwashen, hands, they found fault, for the Pharisees and all the Jews, who hold the traditions of the elders, except they wash their hands to the wrist\*, eat not. And coming from the market, except they baptize themselves,† they eat not; and many other things there be, which they have received to hold, the baptisms of drinking cups and of pots, and of brazen vessels, and of couches.”‡ “And as he spake, a certain Pharisee besought him to dine with him, and he went in and sat down to meat; and when the Pharisee saw it, he marvelled that he had not been first baptized before dinner.”§

Our time may be spared by considering these passages together. In the instance recorded by Matthew and Mark, the Pharisees murmured because the disciples of our Lord partook of their food without having previously washed their hands. In that in Luke, a Pharisee marvelled at our Lord, because he had not been baptized before his dinner. The inference is, unless reason for a distinction can be shown, that the ceremony in the two instances was the same, and the baptism expected from our Lord was the washing of his hands. The persons who murmured were in both instances of the same sect; Jesus and his disciples belonged to the same class, and therefore they might be expected to observe the same rites of purification; and all

\* Πυγμῆ. Our translation renders it “oft.” There are various other renderings. Water was poured upon the hands, either as far as the wrist, or possibly they rubbed one hand with the closed fist of the other. The former seems the preferable sense.

† Some MSS., and among them the Vatican, read πάντισσονται, they sprinkle themselves. This is not the true reading, but it suggests some association in the minds of the copyists between these baptisms and sprinklings, as they mistook the one for the other.

‡ Mark vii. 1—4.

§ Luke xi. 37, 38.

the circumstances, so far as we can trace them, were similar.

Had the disciples washed their hands, they would have done everything which the Pharisees expected. Why should more have been required from our Lord? Had he performed the ordinary purification, the Pharisee would not have marvelled.

There were, I admit, two modes of washing the hands observed by the Pharisees, one by pouring and one by dipping; \* and if our Lord had been subject to the greater defilement, and his disciples to the less, the washing expected from our Lord might have been more complete than that of his disciples. It would be tedious and unprofitable to notice the interminable regulations of the rabbins respecting the ablutions of their hands before meat.†

I know not whether our Baptist friends will regard as a concession what all ought to acknowledge, that the two kinds of ablution, the pouring of water upon the hands, and the dipping of them in it, might have been intended in the gospel of Mark, where the former is called washing the hands to the wrist, and the latter baptizing. Some Baptists contend, or at least some did formerly contend, that we are to expound the passage in Mark's gospel, "the Pharisees, except they wash their hands, eat not, and when they come from the market, except they baptize," or dip the things they buy, as herbs and fruits, they do not eat them; but this interpretation is unauthorized by the words of the text, as well as by the customs of the Pharisees.‡ Besides, whatever this extraordinary version may do with

\* מְבִילָה יָדַיִם and נְטִילָה יָדַיִם

† Talmud. Bab. and Hier. in Berach. and Maimonides in Mikvaoth. (Lightfoot's Exercit. on the passages.)

‡ Although an appeal is made to some ancient versions, yet they are of too little authority to be opposed to the fair translation of the Greek text. The text is, unless they baptize themselves, "*βαπτίζονται*," and if it be admitted that there is any ellipsis at all, (which we have no right to admit,) it must be *τὰς χεῖρας*, as to the hands, inferred from the preceding verse.

St. Mark, it cannot extort a word in favour of immersion from St. Luke, who says, the Pharisees marvelled that our Lord had not been baptized. Had Jesus been to market to purchase herbs for the Pharisees? Was it expected that he should do the servant's duty of washing them before dinner? And if Jesus had been expected to dip the herbs, would the passive voice have been employed, that he had not been baptized?

Admitting that the custom ascribed to the Pharisees by Maimonides, of immersing themselves whenever they were polluted by the touch of the common people, prevailed as early as the time of our Lord, we may explain, consistently with the doctrine of our Baptist brethren, the baptism of the Pharisees in coming from market; but, how does this admission account for the expected immersion of our Lord, who never affected the sanctity of the Pharisees, but was universally known as one of the common people, and often reproached as the friend of publicans and sinners? If Jesus sat down at the table of the Pharisee with unwashed hands, he neglected a great and solemn regulation of the elders; for according to the rabbinical authorities, it was better to die than to eat without first washing the hands; and a great rabbi was excommunicated for the neglect of the ablution, and deprived, by order of the Sanhedrim, of the ordinary burial. But to have immersed the whole body, if practised at all, must have been regarded as an act of most scrupulous sanctity and Pharisaic strictness. "The Pharisee marvelled that he was not first baptized before dinner."

That the Pharisee could not have marvelled, because our Lord had not wholly immersed himself, may be made sufficiently plain from the New Testament, without multiplying extracts from the rabbinical authors who, although they treat so diffusely upon the ablutions of the hands before meals, say very little of the immersion of the whole body. But if immersion before meat was so generally



the practice as to excite surprise by its neglect, what could have been the meaning of section upon section, and comment upon comment, literally line upon line, and precept upon precept, on the washing of their hands preparatory to the partaking of food? The immersion of the body must have superseded the cleansing of the hands.

We have seen that no such immersion was expected from the disciples. The reason is obvious. There was nothing in the ordinary intercourse of life to pollute the whole body of those who belonged to the common people. The hands being defiled would by touching the food make it unclean, and so unfit to be eaten. That such was the understanding is evident from the language of our Lord, who defends himself and his disciples by asserting that food cannot defile a man; although, according to the tradition of the elders, the hands being defiled as they were by ordinary business, would have polluted the food which they touched. There is, however, a hypothetical case, in which our Lord would have been expected to immerse himself. Had he contracted the greater pollution of the law, as by contact with a dead body or an unclean animal, he must have bathed in performing the rites of purification. But would the Pharisee have invited a man in such a state of ceremonial defilement to dine with him? His presence would have been a legal pollution. Entering, he would have defiled the house; and after his immersion, he would have been unclean until the evening.

But conceding what I care not to deny, that the Pharisees, as early as the time of our Lord, practised immersion after contact with the common people; or even, what I do not think probable, that they practised it regularly every day before meat: and conceding what will be thought a strange concession, that our Lord, instead of being reproached as a gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners, was reputed the most strict, severe, and abstemious of the Pharisees: the surprise of

his host must have referred to the omission, not of an immersion which, if practised at all, must have been performed by the guests at their own abodes, but of some ablution which he expected to be observed at his own house preparatory to the sitting down at his table. Were this a baptism which it was customary for the guests to perform before their arrival, the Pharisee would not have observed the omission, and consequently would not have marvelled at it. But is it at all probable that the guests, on coming to dinner, were accustomed to strip themselves and immerse in some bath or large cistern in the house of their host? And is it probable that of this custom we should have no account, not a reference to it, in all the interminable tracts of the Talmuds and rabbinical authors, who treat so largely of the ablutions practised before meat? They washed their hands in various ways; but when or how did they immerse themselves in the house of their host? Were the houses of the Pharisees fitted up with baths and other conveniences daily prepared for the accommodation of guests, who might happen to have been in the market, or in any other concourse of people? The wealthy Pharisees often made great feasts, and their houses were crowded with guests. As we may be sure two of them would not bathe in the same water, clean water must have been provided for every person. How could all this undressing, and dipping, and re-dressing have been managed in a city where feasts were very frequent, water not very plentiful, and the guest-chamber often crowded with visitors?

We have distinct information, as in this controversy has often been observed, of "the manner of the purifying of the Jews." At a marriage-feast, at which the guests were generally very numerous, (and from the deficiency of the wine on the occasion to which we refer, we may suppose they were not fewer than usual,) there were six water-pots of stone, intended for their ablutions, containing two or

three firkins apiece,—quite sufficient to supply water for washing the hands, or even the feet of many visitors. But taking the word rendered firkin to be the largest measure it can denote, the bath—although some think it was much smaller—each vessel would then contain from fifteen to twenty gallons, in which it would not be easy for a man to immerse himself. We may certainly conclude that immersion was not the manner of purifying among the Jews, when they assembled at the house of a friend; and that the Pharisee marvelled because our Lord did not perform the customary ablution, which could not have been immersion, of a guest before dinner.

Dr. Gale contends, and some of his brethren agree with him, that the Pharisees daily immersed themselves before dinner, because some of the Jews are said to have been Hemero-baptists (daily baptists.) Citing Josephus,\* who says that one sect of the Jews did immerse themselves before dinner, he thinks it probable another sect might do likewise. But the misfortune is, that sect was very unlike the Pharisees. If I had no better reason for concluding that the Pharisees did not regularly immerse themselves before dinner, I should say that if they did, Josephus, one of themselves, would not have mentioned daily immersion as a peculiarity of the Essenes. Nor did our Lord assume the austerity, nor adopt the maxims of those ascetics of the wilderness; so that the Pharisee could not have supposed him to have been one of these Hemero-baptists, and on that account have marvelled that he did not immerse. No Pharisee would invite an Essene to dine with him: no Essene would accept such an invitation from a Pharisee.†

\* De Bel. Jud. lib. ii. c. 8, § 5.

† Of the Hemero-baptists, referred to by Justin Martyr, and other Christian writers, but little is known, although the Apostolic Constitutions seem to regard them as the Pharisees mentioned in this passage: "The Hemero-baptists are those who every day do not eat unless they baptize themselves:

The summary of our reasoning is, because the Pharisees did not regularly practise immersion before dinner; because, even conceding that they did, our Lord was not reputed a Pharisee; because, even conceding that he was so reputed, the immersion would not have been expected at the house of his host; the Pharisee marvelled, not that our Lord did not first immerse himself, but that he did not perform the customary ablution, expected from his disciples on a similar occasion, of washing his hands before meat.

Of the baptizing of cups, and pots, and brazen vessels, and couches, although I have little doubt that various kinds of ablutions are intended in the general word, yet I cannot venture to say as positively as several of my brethren do, that some of these, especially the couches, could not have been immersed. The Jews were undoubtedly most careful and particular in thoroughly washing the drapery and coverings of their seats; and, if any one will take the trouble to study the various pollutions of beds and couches, as they are described in Maimonides and the Talmudic tracts, he must in candour admit, that these articles of furniture were in some instances immersed in water.\*

moreover of their beds, and dishes, and cups, and pots, and seats, they make no use unless they first wash them with water." (Lib. vi. cap. 6.) Epiphanius, however, says that in addition to the rites of the scribes and Pharisees, they baptized themselves every day. Hegesippus, according to Eusebius, (Eccles. Hist. iv. 22,) in speaking of the seven sects of the Jews, distinguishes them from both the Pharisees and the Essenes. Some later writers also consider them to have been a distinct sect; which opinion Mosheim adopts, who believes that they were the ancestors of the present Joannites, or disciples of John, a sort of semi-Christians in the East. (Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians, Introduction.) If they were known to Josephus, they must have been the Essenes; but if any, contrary to all probability, will contend that they were the Pharisees, then their daily baptism, as we have seen, would not require the immersion of our Lord.—See Gieseler's Eccles. Hist. period i. dec. i. chap. i. sect. 22.

\* See Lightfoot on this passage, who maintains, as do many oriental scholars, that they were effected by sprinkling. I however cannot tell why the couches were not immersed, although the great orientalists say they were

Although I cannot rely so confidently upon these baptisms of furniture, as do many of my brethren, yet I think the divers baptisms of the Jews, mentioned in the Epistle to the Hebrews, include, if they do not exclusively denote, the purifications by sprinkling performed in the Jewish temple. I solicit attention to the context. The apostle had described the material sanctuary of the first covenant, "which," he says, "was a figure for the time being, in which were offered oblations and sacrifices, which could not perfect the worshipper, as to his conscience; enjoined until the time of reformation, in respect only to meats and drinks, and *divers baptisms, ordinances of the flesh*. But Christ being come, a high-priest of future good, through a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, not by means of the blood of goats and calves, but by means of his own blood, having obtained eternal redemption for us, entered once for all into the most holy place. For if the blood of calves and goats, and the ashes of a heifer, *sprinkling the unclean, purify so far as the cleansing of the flesh*; by how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself spotless to God, purify your conscience from dead works, for the service of the living God?"\* My conviction is, on reading the whole paragraph, that the divers baptisms included the sprinkling of the blood of calves and goats upon the altar, and the sprinkling of the unclean with the water of separation, in which were mingled the ashes of the heifer. Those baptisms were ordinances of the flesh; and these sprinklings were for the cleansing of the flesh: those baptisms could not purify the conscience; the blood of Christ, of which the blood sprinkled upon the altar, and the ashes sprinkled upon the unclean, were figures for the

not. The only argument I can find that the baptizing of cups was not their immersion, is derived from the declaration of our Lord, that the Pharisees cleansed only the outside. Its value I leave to the estimate of the reader.

\* Heb. ix. 9—14.



time being, does purify the conscience. There were divers immersions and divers sprinklings among the Jews. The divers baptisms must refer to the one or the other, or to both. He calls these baptisms *ordinances of the flesh*, and afterwards says, "for if the blood of calves and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer, *sprinkling* the unclean, purify to the *cleansing of the flesh*." Be it observed, further, that the apostle had made no reference whatever in the first part of the parallel to the *sprinkling* with the ashes of the heifer, if it were not included in the divers baptisms; and yet in the second part it is the chief point of his argument. It was not a gift, nor a sacrifice; it was not for meat, nor for drink; our opponents as confidently add, it was not a baptism. Let us consider the reasoning of the apostle, on their exposition. "Which was a figure for the time then present, in which were offered both gifts and sacrifices, that could not make him that did the service perfect, as pertaining to the conscience; being enjoined until the time of reformation only for meats and drinks, and *divers immersions, institutes of the flesh*; for if *sprinklings purify the flesh*, how much more shall the blood of Christ purify the conscience?" Is it credible, that the apostle should represent the Levitical service as a type of the cleansing of the conscience by the blood of Christ; and enumerating its several parts should exclude its sprinklings; and immediately, as though he had mentioned them, make these sprinklings the strength of his argument, and the only part of the type which he specifically notices; and that, on the other hand, he should introduce immersions into the enumeration of the Mosaic types, and make no application of them to the evangelical service? When had he said, the sprinkling purified as to the flesh, if it were not included in the divers baptisms, the ordinances of the flesh, which being obviously parts of the type must have corresponded with the antitype? What else than the sprinkling of the blood of calves and goats in the sanctuary, and the sprink-

ling of the unclean with the ashes of the heifer, does the apostle represent as intended to prefigure the purification of the soul by the blood of Christ? What immersion of the flesh in water was typical of the sprinklings of the heart from an evil conscience? The argument requires that the sprinklings of the law be included in the ordinances of the flesh, either in the meats, or the drinks, or the baptisms. But if they were implied in any of those three kinds of ordinances of the flesh, they must have been in the divers baptisms.

Some Pædo-baptists of great learning and acuteness ex-cogitate an argument in favour of sprinkling, from the use of the epithet *διαφόροις*, *divers baptisms*, or *divers kinds of baptisms*, designating, as they think, various modes of administering it. Dr. Owen, for instance, says on this passage, that baptism means “any kind of washing by dipping or sprinkling;” but as I do not understand his reasons for the assertion, I must leave them to the study of the candid reader.\*

Tired of this logomachy, let us proceed from words to things, and notice some references to Christian baptism in the New Testament which seem to sustain the inference that immersion was not the idea in the minds of the sacred writers. When Peter, seeing that “on the Gentiles was poured out the gift of the Holy Ghost, said, Can any man *forbid water*,” refuse water, “that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost, as well as we?”† is it not fairly to be deduced from his words, that he was

\* Many critics think that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews employs the word *βαπτισμός* to denote the Jewish ablution, as distinguished from *βάπτισμα*, the Christian rite; but the Greek fathers evidently regard the two words as synonymous, as they both use *βαπτισμός*, when citing other passages, (buried with him, *βαπτισμῷ*.) and call these legal baptisms *τὰ νομικά βαπτίσματα*.—See Photii Bibliotheca, cclxxx., for both instances.

† Acts x. 47, refuse water, deny water. See Luke vi. 29, &c.—See Schleusner and Wahl.

thinking of the application of water to Cornelius and his household? He speaks as if the water was to be brought to them, and not as if they were to be conducted to the water. As he had seen the emblem of the Holy Ghost shed forth upon the converts, he could not have copied a better model of the baptism he was about to perform. If the argument be good, that he might surely baptize with water those who had been baptized with the Spirit; its counterpart may safely be adopted by us, that we may surely baptize with water in the same mode as they were baptized with the Spirit. The water and the visible sign were both emblems of the same thing. Is not this view confirmed by the words of the apostle which I have already cited, "As I began to speak, *the Holy Ghost fell on them*, as on us at the beginning: then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be *baptized with the Holy Ghost?*"

Another allusion I notice before I leave this part of the argument. St. Paul says,\* "Having therefore, brethren, the right of entrance into the most holy place, by the blood of Jesus, which he hath consecrated for us a new and living way, through the veil, (that is his flesh,) and having a great High Priest over the house of God, let us go near with a true heart, in full confidence of faith, having been sprinkled as to our hearts from an evil conscience, and washed as to our bodies with clean water."

That there is in this passage an allusion to baptism seems to me undeniable. Here is a sprinkling of the heart, and here is also a washing of the body. In such a connexion the washing of the body is surely not the same thing as the cleansing of the heart. To explain this water as spiritual and mystical water, or this washing as spiritual and mystical washing, would require us to understand the apostle as speaking of spiritual or mystical bodies, and that, too, in obvious contradistinction from the heart.

\* Heb. x. 19—22.

That the washing of the body was intended as a sign of the cleansing of the heart, I readily admit; but the apostle distinctly mentions the sign as well as the thing signified. We are to enter the sanctuary of God, with our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience by the blood of Christ, and our bodies washed with the water of baptism.

As the apostle represents the believer as entering the sanctuary, there can be little doubt that the allusion is to the washing of the priests, before they entered the holy place. Whether that washing was by immersion, or by the application of the water to the person, is therefore an inquiry which may illustrate, if it do not determine, the sense of this passage. The Jewish priests entered the sanctuary, having their bodies washed with pure water. Were they, or were they not immersed?

One washing was previous to putting on the sacerdotal vestments. The specific object of this ablution was to purify the flesh, that the priest might not profane the holy garments. It is distinguished from the washing before he entered the sanctuary. "These are holy garments, therefore shall he wash his flesh in water," or with water, "and so put them on."\* The verb here employed, רָחַץ, is simply to wash, without reference to the mode, as it is employed when it is said of Joseph, "He washed his face."† How the priest washed his flesh we do not know: the Septuagint renders, "washed with water," not in it.

At the consecration of the priests Moses was commanded, preparatory to putting the robes on Aaron and his sons, and performing the other rites of initiation, to wash them with water at the door of the tabernacle.‡ The mode of the washing is not expressed, the same verb, רָחַץ, being employed; but few things are more improbable than that Moses immersed the priests in that situation. But in connexion with the apostle's argument it is more natural to observe the ordinary and proper ablution before enter-

\* Levit. xvi. 4.

† Gen. xliii. 31.

‡ Exodus xxix. 4.

ing the sanctuary, which was performed at the brazen laver—"Thou shalt also make a laver of brass, and his foot also of brass, to wash withal: and thou shalt put it between the tabernacle of the congregation and the altar, and thou shalt put water therein. For Aaron and his sons shall wash their hands and their feet thereat: when they go into the tabernacle of the congregation, they shall wash with water, that they die not; or when they come near to the altar to minister, to burn offering made by fire unto the Lord: so they shall wash their hands and their feet, that they die not."\* From this passage we learn that the proper ablution, previous to entering the sanctuary, was the washing of the hands and feet; that this ablution is called washing with water, (ver. 20,) as if the person were washed when only the hands and feet were intended. To this ablution it would seem most natural to refer the words of the apostle, were it not for the objection, that the words washed as to the body, especially as the word *λελουμένοι* is employed, can scarcely be applied to the washing of the hands and feet. How far it may relieve the difficulty to say, as the passage in Exodus seems to imply, that the washing of the hands and feet was for convenience appointed instead of the ablution of the whole person, and therefore considered as equivalent, I must leave the reader to decide. To which of these washings, or whether to any of them, the apostle specifically alludes, it may not be possible to ascertain with certainty. All I assert is, we know not any immersion practised by the priests on entering the sanctuary, and we have no right to assume that anything of the kind took place. If the reference be to the ablution of the Levites on being initiated into the holy service, or of the unclean that they might not defile the sanctuary of the Lord, we are expressly told they were sprinkled with the water of purifying.†

If it be shown, by the use of the word and by allu-

\* Exodus xxx. 18—21.

† Numbers viii. 7; xix. 20.



sions to the rite, that immersion is not the only mode of administering this ordinance, it is of less importance to ascertain in what manner it was actually solemnized in the apostolic age. Contending, as I do, that the use of water is sufficient, whatever mode may be thought the most convenient, or the most expressive, why should I be solicitous to prove that the apostles preferred any one mode to any other? Believing that all are lawful, though all may not be equally expedient, and chiefly desiring in this controversy to see established the principle that the application of water in any way includes all that is of any value in baptism, if it be honestly intended as the act of obedience to the commission of the Lord Jesus, I am an advocate of sprinkling in no other sense than I am of immersion: and I am equally an opponent of such as, on the one side or the other, insist upon a restriction which Christ has not imposed. Indeed, I should not have troubled myself to pursue this inquiry any further, were it not for the apprehension that I might be thought to evade what some of our Baptist friends consider incontrovertible evidence in favour of immersion. Were every baptism in the New Testament an immersion, it would no more affect my reasoning than does the fact that our Lord used unleavened bread at the institution of the supper, aided by the apostle's allusion, "Let us keep the feast not with old leaven," impose upon the church the duty of following the Saviour's example in that particular. Some men of profound learning have contended that dipping is absolutely unlawful, an ἐθελοθησκεία, an act of will-worship, that horror of the Puritans;\* but upon the hypothesis for which I plead, it is of less importance to ascertain what particular mode was practised in the apostolic age. Without assuming what we have no right to assume, that the mode of baptizing in the primitive church was uniform, or that, because immersion might have been practised in one instance or might not in

\* Journal of the Westminster Assembly.

another, such an instance on either side proves the general rule of the apostles, let us briefly notice a few facts in the evangelical narrative, which may elucidate this inquiry.

I feel bound in candour to admit that the Jewish baptism of proselytes was by immersion. Of this there can be no reasonable doubt whatever; for, that proselytes were baptized in a confluence of waters sufficient to cover the whole body, we learn from the Talmuds and from Maimonides.\* If it should be supposed that as immersion was practised by the Jews, the apostles would have adopted the mode to which their nation was accustomed, I reply that the prevalent custom might have been a very good reason for such a practice, even though no mode had been specified by Divine authority, as the customary designation of the rite might have been the origin of the name which John and Jesus employed in initiating disciples. The institution was from God, but whether the name was from heaven or of men we know not. That the word had previously among the Jews received a religious appropriation, may be inferred from its use in the Septuagint, as well as in the New Testament, in uniform distinction from *βάπτω*.

The apostles might have baptized their Jewish proselytes according to the previous usage of their nation, because that mode was the most expedient and usually the most convenient. In our age and climate, however, expediency would rather be a reason for sprinkling or pouring. Yet the mode of baptism observed by the Jews, if we rely upon rabbinical authorities—and from no other do we learn that they practised immersion at all—was in so many respects different from that of John and of the disciples of our Lord, as to preclude any analogical reasoning from the one service to the other. As (to adopt the remark of Mr. Ewing) there is no instance in the law of Moses of one person bathing another, far less of a public bathing before

\* Lightfoot's Exercitations upon Matt. iii. 6.

a promiscuous assembly; so in the rabbinical baptism the person baptized, standing in the water, plunged himself, and came up a new creature. When a woman was baptized, the teachers rehearsed to her the precepts of the law; and then, no other men being present, as she dipped her head under the water, they turned away and left her with her female companions. Hence these proselytes are said to baptize themselves;\* but it is manifest that the apostles did not observe this particular mode in administering the Christian ordinance. In a warm climate, where the people were accustomed to bathing, and water was not plentiful in the towns, it might have been more convenient to immerse in a river than to sprinkle in a city a considerable number of persons. If it could be shown, that John generally dipped in the Jordan, he might have dipped for precisely the same reason as we sprinkle, the convenience of that mode of administering the rite.

By those who contend that immersion was practised in the instances mentioned in the New Testament, the baptisms in Jordan and at Ænon, where there was much water, are usually selected as their proofs. Much argument sometimes floats upon this great quantity of water, as if it were superfluous for any other purpose than immersion. How often has it been asked, Why should John, if he did not immerse the crowds who resorted to his ministry, have selected the river Jordan or the many streams of Ænon as his place of baptizing? Although I am under no obligation to deny that John usually immersed, a moment's consideration would answer this reiterated inquiry. I say nothing about the necessity of water for sustaining the vast multitudes who frequented the ministry of John or of our Lord, so that the spot, as some suppose, might have been selected, as a site for an encampment is often chosen, on the bank of a river; because I think it scarcely fair to explain the narrative as

\* Lightfoot's Exercitations upon Matt. iii. 6.

if the proximity to water was preferred for any other purpose than that of baptism. In our own land, in which scarcely a town is to be found without a considerable stream in its neighbourhood, containing more water than issued from all the fountains of Ænon, we need to be reminded of the scarcity of water, on the failure of the brooks in the dry season, in most parts of Palestine. In that country, we are told, great multitudes went to be baptized of John; all Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the country round about. Without professing to offer a correct estimate of the proportion of the inhabitants designated by this language, it may surely be inferred that very great crowds, a considerable majority of the population of the district, were baptized by John. If he only sprinkled them with his hands, or poured a small quantity of water from a vessel upon their heads, where in that country could he have easily procured a sufficient quantity for his purpose, unless he resorted to some perennial stream, or place of many springs? Would it be possible to baptize many thousands of people even by sprinkling in such a place as Sychem, where the whole city was compelled to resort to the well which Jacob gave them, probably supplying the inhabitants with no more water than they daily needed? From that well water might possibly have been obtained to sprinkle the inhabitants of the town, but it is not to be supposed, that it could have been procured at an easy rate to sprinkle the population of Jerusalem and the other cities of Judea. Was John to keep persons employed with vessels, where the well was deep, to draw him sufficient water? What would the Samaritans have thought if he had gathered his crowds of hearers around the precious well which their ancestor had given them? Could he have pacified them by saying he was raising the water only for sprinkling, not for immersing, thousands and tens of thousands of people? Or would he have selected his position to sprinkle the multitudes in the

neighbourhood of Jerusalem, where Josephus tells us, before the improvements of Titus, the water was often sold in separate measures to the people? \* Jesus was making and baptizing more disciples than John, (at that time John was decreasing;) but where in a sultry climate could he have sprinkled so many thousands, except at a place like *Ænon* abounding with water? We too often think of a few being baptized, but I ask any one seriously to consider how much water would be required to wash, to sprinkle, one hundred thousand people, and less than that number cannot be implied in the language employed respecting the baptism of John and of our Lord. How many places in Palestine, as now we know it, with the exception of the sea-shore, and the banks of Jordan, and the lake of Galilee, would supply without inconvenience sufficient water for so great an affusion? If much water is necessary, in a country where it is scarce, to sprinkle some hundreds of persons daily, what becomes of the argument so often and so ostentatiously proposed in favour of immersion from the banks of the Jordan or the much water of *Ænon*? If any person, even in this land of perpetual rains and perennial streams, were to propose to baptize by affusion or sprinkling the population of one of our counties, and vast crowds were to resort to him, would he not, if his ministry were in the open air like that of John and of Jesus, take his station for the sake of the convenience of the water on the bank of some river? Yet there is nothing in the New Testament which has more troubled some good people than this much water of *Ænon*, and no place which has afforded a more favourite name for a chapel containing a reservoir of about a hogshead of water than this town of limpid streams. I do not wonder at this, but I do wonder at the disingenuous artifice of learned men, who, knowing well the nature of the country

\* De Bello, lib. v. c. 9, § 4.



have not scrupled to make the most of this worthless argument.

But whatever may be the value of the reasoning from the ancient streams to the modern chapels of *Ænon*, (and all that I maintain is, that the propinquity to water is to be explained without reference to immersion,) the numbers who resorted to John have been construed to prove it physically impossible that he should have immersed them all. To notice this argument, were it not for the sake of completing the discussion, might appear superfluous, as my reasoning no ways depends upon the mode in which John found it most convenient or most agreeable to baptize. In fairly submitting to the reader the difficulties of supposing that John immersed all whom he is said to have baptized, I leave him to consider how far they do, or do not, confirm the general reasoning of this lecture. As, however, in the brief sketch of the gospels there may be omitted many facts and incidents which, if we knew them, might solve or lessen the difficulties, I do not desire to press them unfairly or rashly. Let the reader use his own discretion, and give to the statement what weight, or deduct from it what discount, he may think all the uncertainties of the case may fairly justify.\*

The first inquiry is, how many persons we may suppose John baptized, and the answer can amount to little else than a vague estimate of the minimum of his disciples. Of the amount of the population of Judea and the country round about Jordan, at the time of our Lord, I know of no computation on which we may rely with confidence. Josephus estimates the number of persons present in

\* Those who would see the argument proposed in its strength as against immersion, may consult the "Essay on Baptism" in the *Congregational Magazine*, May, 1841.

In retaining this part of the Lecture on the difficulties of supposing immersion was invariably practised, I do so in the confidence that the reader will consider the explanation offered at the commencement of the Appendix.

Jerusalem at one passover as two millions seven hundred thousand; at another, as three millions. Such computations may appear vague and dubious, but as they are founded upon the number of lambs slain at the altar, two hundred and fifty-six thousand five hundred, allowing about twelve persons for each lamb;\* they deserve much more attention than mere conjecture. The writer in the "Congregational Magazine," to whom I have already alluded, supposes that we may regard one-third of these as belonging to Judea and the country about Jordan. This appears to me a very moderate estimate, as I do not imagine the proportion of foreigners to have been greater than two-thirds; although, as it is mere conjecture, I can claim no authority for it. It would leave nine hundred thousand persons of that country, capable of eating the paschal lamb. If it should be objected that Josephus says, the greater number of those perishing in Jerusalem, being shut up at the passover, did not belong to the city; let it be remembered that the multitudes of whom we are speaking, as having resorted to John's baptism, belonged not to Jerusalem only, but to all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan. Let the reader, if he be at all dissatisfied, diminish the estimate to the very lowest which he can suppose could have included the population of Judea, and the country round about the Jordan; the territory of the ancient kingdom of Judah with the addition of the populous neighbourhood of the Jordan.

By the general expressions, Jerusalem, and all Judea, and the country round about Jordan, I must understand that the majority of the population was baptized by John. All the people counted John to be a prophet: through fear of the multitude the leaders of the Pharisees dared not to say that his baptism was from men. All classes went to be baptized; Pharisees and publicans, Sadducees and

\* "No less than ten belong to every sacrifice, and many of us are twenty in a company."—Josephus, War, book vi., ch. 9, § 3.

soldiers. Mr. Thorn estimates the numbers baptized by John\* at two millions; and although I do not know that he can be controverted, I dare not make the estimate so large, but am content with a fourth, or a tenth, or even a twentieth of it. "Jesus baptized not, but his disciples," is said in contrast with the practice of John who was himself the baptizer. If his ministry continued only about six months, as is most probable, or even terminated within the year from its commencement, of which there can be no reasonable doubt, had he been baptizing in the river without intermission from day-break until night-fall, it seems impossible he should have immersed so great a multitude. Does any one believe, Mr. Ewing asks, that he was the amphibious animal which the hypothesis of the immersionists supposes? Making every allowance for our ignorance of the circumstances of the history, and reducing the estimate to the smallest numbers which do not directly contradict the evangelical narrative, it is not inappropriate to ask how these crowds went to him in deep water. Did they go in their usual clothes? or did they return to their homes in them? or did they carry change of raiment from their several cities into the wilderness, and undress and dress on the banks of the river in the midst of the vast crowds? or did they go naked into the water? These baptisms were publicly performed in the presence of great multitudes of people. Let any one consider the habits of oriental women, concealed rather than adorned with their veils, and then resolve the inquiry, whether it is probable that the women of Judea, exposed to the gaze of promis-

\* Our translation of John iv. 1, "When, therefore, the Lord knew that the Pharisees had heard that Jesus made and baptized more disciples than John," may be adduced in opposition to the inference which I have drawn, that John baptized the majority of the people. The slightest attention, however, to the original would show that the meaning is, the Pharisees heard that Jesus was *at that time* baptizing more disciples than John. John was decreasing, but Jesus was increasing; John was finishing his work, Jesus was commencing his.

cuous crowds, would submit to be immersed in the Jordan by John the Baptist. In the baptism of a proselyted woman among the Jews, we have noticed the manner in which she was privately placed in the water, where she dipped her own head in the presence of her female companions. It is to me incredible that Jewish women resorted to a public immersion, and none the less so, because immersion in private, with so much care and circumspection, was practised on the admission of female proselytes to the privileges of their nation. The more I consider the circumstances, the more difficult I find it to believe that John immersed all his disciples. Although I dare not propose the objection in the form of absolute physical impossibility, as do some of my brethren; yet in the midst of such difficulties I am induced to consider why I am required to believe so extraordinary a statement, as that thousands of persons, men and women, were publicly immersed in the presence of great crowds of spectators. The only answer I find is that to baptize is to immerse, and therefore the evangelists say positively they were all immersed. If I ask in return, Were the Fathers who were baptized in the Red Sea immersed? I am told I do not understand tropes and metaphors, and therefore cannot distinguish things that differ. In that gay and flowery region of metaphor, it seems the dispute must be left with the reader.

Let us now glance at the baptism on the day of Pentecost. After the preaching of Peter, "they that gladly received the word were baptized, and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls."\* We here find that three thousand persons were baptized in the after-part of one day, in the city of Jerusalem. The inquiry has been often proposed, but has never, so far as I know, been fairly answered, how and where could so many persons have been immersed in so short a time? Jerusalem was not like Ænon, a place of much water.

\* Acts ii. 41.

The Kedron is a small stream, dry during the summer, dashing impetuously after rain along its rocky channel, easily crossed without bridges. The fountain of Siloam forms two small pools, containing just sufficient water for women to wash linen,\* and which Josephus says often failed, as well as all the springs without the city. Are we to suppose that three thousand people were immersed in those pools, in one afternoon, during the feast of Pentecost, at the end of May or beginning of June, the commencement of the season of the long drought? Or are we to suppose that the apostles betook themselves to the cisterns on the tops of the houses, in which the water was preserved, and there immersed thousands, and a few days afterwards thousands more, with the summer before them, and with no prospect of rain until October or November? I do not say this, however inconvenient, could not be done, as I do not say there was not abundance of water in the private and public reservoirs: but if it was done, the people must have separated, and resorted in little parties to a great number of private houses scattered over the city, to which the apostles could obtain access, and even then they must have dipped several persons in the same tank, and spoiled the water for all future use. Such a private baptism would have been very unlike the public ministrations of John and of Jesus at the Jordan and at Ænon. That they were purified by some easy mode of ablution, with so much water as could be readily procured, immediately after the discourse of Peter, and in the place where they heard it, would seem to be in accordance with the style of the narrative. That they dispersed in all directions to the several baths of the houses, and that the apostles went from one company to another, each immersing about two hundred and fifty in different places, (for surely so many would not be immersed in one bath, in the same water, and in the same day,) seems exceed-

\* See Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. pp. 34, 36.



ingly improbable, especially as each family, even now the city is so much smaller, carefully preserves its own reservoir. There was, it must be acknowledged, a great deal of water used in the temple service; but is it likely that the disciples had influence with the prefect who superintended the supply, to enable them to immerse thousands of people in the public tanks? At this very time water was so much needed that we learn from Josephus, Pilate constructed an aqueduct with sacred money, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Jews, as it was always precious until the works of Titus relieved the city. This baptism was wholly unexpected, and how could all these strangers have been supplied with change of raiment in the midst of the city? The alternative we indignantly repudiate. Even in an English town, if it be not by the side of a considerable river, would it be easy without preparation to immerse three thousand strangers decently in one afternoon, or five thousand in one day? The more I think of the promiscuous baptism of thousands in one day in a city, and especially of women, under all circumstances, and without any previous arrangements, the more slow of heart I am to believe it was performed by immersion. In this respect the difficulties were greater, as the event was unexpected, than those of the baptism in the Jordan.\*

\* I do not wish, in our ignorance of all the facts, to press this objection too far. To find sufficient water for the temple service before the construction of the aqueducts has always appeared a matter of extreme difficulty. I must candidly, as I do cheerfully acknowledge, that there must have been abundance of water in the city to have washed away the blood of two hundred and fifty thousand lambs slain at one passover. How to reconcile the sufficiency of water for such a sacrifice with the accounts of its scarcity may not be easy; but that sufficient water must have been in Jerusalem, I am bound to acknowledge. Let the reader consider both sides of these references to past events. Let him consider, on the one hand, the great quantity of water used for the sacrifices; on the other, the bringing of water on mules from Bethlehem for sale, as is done to this day. Considering the multitudes in Jerusalem at the feasts, there must have been means of preserving vast quantities of water. How, without large supplies, could they have sustained their long

But let us leave Jerusalem and visit Samaria. "Philip went down to the city of Samaria, and preached Christ unto them: and the people *with one accord* gave heed unto those things which Philip spake, hearing and seeing the things which he did." . . . "When they believed Philip, preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women." From the language employed, we may infer that the people were generally baptized—"There was great joy in that city." It is probable that this city, from which the apostles preached the gospel among the villages of the Samaritans, was Sychem, the ancient metropolis of Samaria.\* But what were the conveniences in Sychem for immersing the male and female population of the city? Jacob's well was there, but the water was deep, and it could not be obtained without something to draw with. It will not be pretended that the people were immersed in that well. That there was no other considerable collection of pure water, suitable for drinking or for ablutions, would appear from the fact, not only that the woman of Samaria resorted to it, but that she supposed it impossible for Jesus to give her living water. "Art thou greater than our father Jacob, which gave us the well, and drank thereof himself, and his children, and his cattle?" If Jesus could tell her of any other water, he was greater than Jacob. Had there been a stream of any consequence in the neighbourhood, would the cattle of Jacob, as she imagined, have been supplied from that deep well? "The woman saith unto him, Sir, give me this water, that I thirst not, neither come hither to draw." That well was

sieges, although they often suffered severely from scarcity? I have no doubt of the sufficiency of water; the practicability of obtaining the use of it for so great an immersion, as it was preserved in reservoirs, is a greater difficulty.

\* Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi., c. 8, § 6. The true reading in Acts viii. 5, is, "Philip went down to a city of Samaria." Had the city called Samaria been intended, it would have been described as *the* city of Samaria.

the customary place of resort for water, and the woman knew of none more convenient. Be it also observed, that this conversation with the woman of Samaria took place, not in the dry and sultry season, when the brooks fail, but in January or February—four months before harvest, in May or June. “Say not ye, There are yet four months, and then cometh harvest?” I must here acknowledge I cannot reconcile with these inferences from the gospel the accounts which travellers give of the flowing stream and the fertility of the country, on account of its perpetual water in the neighbourhood of Sychem or Neapolis.\* If the evangelical narrative does not warrant our inference respecting the scarcity of pure water as obtained by the whole city from one precious well, in opposition to recent statements, I make no more use of it than as it may illustrate the situation of many other cities in the East, which undoubtedly derive their supply of water from one or two wells or springs. Of the cities of Palestine, which were not situate on the sea, or the Jordan, or the lake of Tiberias, or one or two of the larger brooks, many did not contain sufficient water to immerse the whole population, or a considerable part of it, in a short time, without extraordinary preparation, or without occasioning considerable scarcity. Possibly it may be said, I cannot prove that Sychem was the city in which Philip preached. But if it were not, we submit the conclusion, that if the preaching of Philip or any apostle had been as successful in a large city, not situated on the banks of a perennial stream, and, like many cities in the East, having no more water than is sufficient for daily use, the men and women could not have been baptized without great inconvenience if immersion were indispensable. Was Christian baptism a

\* Near this spot, however, an army was once compelled to surrender, being harassed with extreme thirst, although the distress may have been occasioned by its having been encamped on the mountain Gerizim, and not in the watered plain.—Josephus *De Bello*, lib. iii. c. 7, § 32.

rite which could not have been administered to the people of a city, dependent for water upon the supply of one well or fountain, if they with one accord had given heed to the things spoken by the apostles? If it were so, many cities of the East, in which the gospel mightily prevailed, must have been a long time unbaptized. But the baptism of the apostles, we believe, was an ablution which could be easily performed, whatever the number of the applicants, in any city, however scarce the water, at any season, even in the drought of summer. Let any traveller in the East say, whether such a baptism of "much people" could always have been by immersion. Let any one say, whether immersion could be easily administered to crowds of the common people who heard the apostles gladly, in countries where the giving of a cup of cold water is regarded as an act of benevolence, and where travellers, as they drink of the little cisterns by the road, are accustomed to bless the memory of the benefactors who formed the sacred receptacle, to preserve the precious liquid for the refreshment of wayfaring men.

In the evangelical history we read of the baptism of women; and how often, in books of eastern travels, do we meet with women collecting round some fountain or small stream to wash linen and other articles of dress! Careful as they are of exposing themselves, they are compelled, by the scarcity of water in many towns, to resort to some fountain or well without the walls, around which they may be seen, with their faces muffled, in considerable numbers washing the linen of their families. This custom, so opposed to the general habits of females in the East, is to be referred entirely to the deficiency of water in their houses. "In many towns of Asia Minor," says Dr. Chandler in his Travels, "the women resort to the fountains by the houses, each with a large two-handled earthen jar on her back, or thrown over her shoulder, for water. They assemble at a fountain without the village or town, if no

river be near, to wash their linen, which is afterwards spread on the ground or bushes to dry." Throughout the country of which he speaks, St. Paul fully preached the gospel of Christ. Is it probable that in any of the towns so destitute of water, a large proportion of the people could have been immersed in the public fountain, or that a sufficient quantity of water for the purpose could have been carried into reservoirs in the houses? A few persons might have been immersed, but the result of the apostles' preaching was often the conversion of great multitudes in a very short time; and we know from the instances of the converts in Jerusalem, and of the people of Samaria, that they were baptized on the very day in which they professed to have believed. Should it be said that immersion was practised in these very places a century or two afterwards, I reply, when Christianity had become publicly recognized, and churches were established, and baptistries were erected, and converts were received gradually, and careful preparations were made for their baptism at the great festivals, immersion might have been conveniently practised. But in the apostolic age, the word of the Lord grew exceedingly and prevailed, where no preparation could have been made for its rites; and in many of the populous towns of Asia, those in which water was scarce as well as those in which it was plentiful, large and flourishing churches, consisting chiefly of the poor, were formed during the short visits of the apostle Paul. So mightily prevailed the profession of the gospel in the region of which Dr. Chandler speaks, Pontus and Bithynia, that a few years afterwards the younger Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan, describes a reaction in favour of paganism, in which the temples which had been almost forsaken were beginning to be frequented, the sacred rites to be restored, and the victims again to find purchasers. Christian baptism, we have a right to conclude, was some-



thing easily performed upon great multitudes of people, in a short time, at all seasons, in towns whose whole supply of water was obtained by women, who brought it in pitchers and bottles from a neighbouring fountain or well.

I refer only to one more instance of apostolic baptism. "On the Sabbath-day we went out of the city by a river side, where prayer was wont to be made; and we sat down, and spake unto the women which resorted thither. And a certain woman, named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, which worshipped God, heard us; whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul. And when she was baptized, and her household, she besought us, saying, If ye have judged me to be faithful to the Lord, come into my house and abide there." Lydia was an Asiatic woman of devotional habits, accustomed to worship God according to the religious forms of the Jews, and with Jewish women to frequent a *proseuche* by the river side. A matron of respectability and some importance, for her household was with her, she had a house in which she could hospitably entertain Paul, Luke, and their companions. She was baptized and her household, but not in her own house, for, "*when she was baptized*, she besought them, saying, Come to my house, and abide there." The narrative, as well as the general practice of the apostles, suggests the inference that she and her family were baptized on the spot; we doubt not at the river. But is it probable that a woman of her station with her family was immersed by a man, in a place of public resort, without any preparation? So contrary was such a practice to all the customs and feelings of Asiatic, or even of Grecian ladies, that a woman of her station must have been most reluctant to submit to such an immersion, however it might have been performed. She no doubt observed her devotions, veiled and covered like a woman of Thyatira; and would the apostle, who was so desirous to

preserve those habits among Christian women as to declare it a shame for one to pray uncovered, and peremptorily to forbid her appearing in the assembly without her veil, have performed the first Christian rite in a manner which would have required her to divest herself of at least a part of her dress? It seems impracticable to have immersed a woman in an Asiatic head-dress, as it was shameful to baptize her with her head uncovered. It is to me incredible under the circumstances that such a woman, at a distance from her own house, would have offered herself to be immersed in a place of public resort. But why are we required to believe, contrary to all the probabilities of the case, that she was immersed? Because our Baptist friends tell us, that to baptize is certainly the same as to immerse; so that because Lydia was baptized she must have been immersed. When we repeat the inquiry concerning the baptism in the Red Sea, they again tell us that we do not understand tropes and figures. Be that as it may, they must favour us with some better account of these tropes and figures than any which they have hitherto given, before they will convince us that the baptisms of the New Testament were invariably performed by immersion.

But admitting, as I do, that βαπτίζειν construed with the preposition εἰς, is to immerse into, let us apply this remark in expounding the commission of our Lord: "Go ye therefore and disciple all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." If to baptize is to immerse in this passage, then according to the usual construction of the words, the name of the Holy Trinity is the thing into which the nations are to be immersed. If the words be taken literally, here is certainly no command to immerse *into water*. To immerse, εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, into the name of the person whose religion is professed, is the religious rite of making proselytes, as to immerse into the name of the Father, and the Son, and

the Holy Ghost, is the appropriate act of the apostles and ministers of the Gospel. The construction of the passage brings the immersion, so far as it exists, not into the water, but into the object of baptizing, into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. So we read of being baptized into Christ;\* baptized into his death;† baptized into one body.‡ Paul inquires of the disciples of Apollos, *εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε*;§ into what then were you baptized? And the answer is not into cold water, but into John's baptism. Let it be observed that on the other hand, in the New Testament, we have not the phrase to baptize into water, to baptize into the Holy Ghost, we have not the preposition *εἰς*, which might determine the sense, but to baptize with water, to baptize with the Holy Ghost; these being construed as the instruments with which the baptism was performed, not the substances into which the persons were baptized. If it be meant that the apostles were immersed into water, why have we not the usual and proper phrase, *εἰς ὕδωρ*? or that our Lord immersed into the Holy Ghost, why not the phrase, *εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*? As to the preposition *ἐν*, which is employed in construction with this verb, it so frequently denotes the instrument in the language of the New Testament, that it is more natural thus to construe it even in phrases where in the Attic dialect such a construction might not be allowed. When the dative case is employed without the preposition, no other version ought to be admitted without necessity. Upon the whole we have, I think, sufficient evidence both from the use of the prepositions, and from the absence of them, that the phraseology of the New Testament respecting the religious rite of baptism, is to baptize with water into Christ, and not to baptize into water by Christ.||

\* Rom. vi. 3.      + Ibid.      † 1 Cor. xii. 13:      § Acts x'x. 3.

|| The phrase, *εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην*, might be supposed to affect these remarks,

In confirmation of this remark observe the construction which is employed by our Lord himself, in reference to the baptism of the Holy Ghost: "John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence; and ye shall receive power, after that *the Holy Ghost is come upon you*."\*

In accordance with the phraseology of our Lord, Peter says: "And as I began to speak, *the Holy Ghost fell on them*, as on us at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost."†

Before we close this lecture, it may be expected that we should advert to the use of the words baptize and baptism, as we find them in the early ecclesiastical writers. Our Baptist friends often, as we think, with a tone of confidence not quite consistent with their frequent professions of respect for scriptural authority alone, appeal to the testimony of the ancient church in favour of immersion. On the value of this testimony I do not now speak; for be it precious or be it worthless, on a near inspection it vanishes away. The amount of the testimony to which they appeal is, that baptism was usually administered by immersion,

were it not that the proper name of a river may be construed as the name of a place, and instances in the later writers occur in which a thing is said to be done, *eis*, in the place. How far this phrase corresponds with such examples of a corrupt use of *eis* unusual with the Attics, as *εἰς Ἐκβάτανα ἀπέθανε*, he died in (not into) Ecbatana, Ælian V. II. vii. 8; or the more appropriate instance in John ix. 7, *νίψαι εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν*, wash (thy face, we infer from the history) in the pool, not into the pool, for no one would make *νίπτω* to immerse, the reader will consider. Even in Attic a very similar construction may be found. See Person's note on the Phœnissæ, l. 1381. On the contrary, *ἐν* with the name of a river must, I think, be rendered in. John was baptizing (I must repudiate the version, with the Jordan, or with its water) in the Jordan, either within the channel, standing at the edge, as Dr. Carson thinks, p. 131, or in the stream, as I, being here a better Baptist, believe.

\* Acts i. 5, 8.

† Acts xi. 15, 16.

and so far they agree with it ; but that it might under certain circumstances be administered by affusion, and when so administered was valid and sufficient, and so far they reject it. The inquiry is, with what intent do they appeal to this ancient testimony ? Is it of authority ? Then why not allow it to determine the question of the validity of baptism by affusion ? Is it of no authority ? Then why adduce it in the controversy ? Is it of authority, just so far as it coincides with the opinions of our Baptist friends, and does it suddenly lose its authority at the precise point in which it differs from them ? If ecclesiastical antiquity commands the converts to be immersed, or, as it does, to be thrice immersed as a sign of sacred mysteries, we do not acknowledge its authority in matters of faith ; but if it speaks of baptism by affusion, or baptism by the pouring down of the Spirit, in the colloquial use of its native tongue, casually rather than controversially, and contrary to its own authorized forms, we respect it as a witness of the meaning of the word. As a mistress of theology, we repudiate the claims of ecclesiastical antiquity ; as a teacher of grammar, we listen to her testimony : as a grave and antiquated divine, we care not how zealously she supports the immersionists ; as an old and respectable philologist, she has a right to be heard with attention by both parties. The inquiry is not, what Christian antiquity thought of the proper mode of baptism, but what use she made of the word baptize. Christians could speak Greek as well as pagans ; bishops and divines as well, or at least as much, as philosophers and poets. When they found in the records of their faith the word baptism, did they or did they not understand it to be perfectly synonymous with immersion ? We maintain, that so far from doing so, they received the word as the name of the Christian rite, and in that appropriated sense employed it when there was no immersing into water, or covering with it.

It is possible, I ought to observe, that the word, having



become appropriated to the Christian ordinance, might have assumed a secondary meaning, in the time which intervened between the apostolic age and its appearance in the writings of the Fathers. As it may have been so, and yet on the other hand as such a variation ought to be proved by those who assert it, I must leave the reader to decide candidly and carefully for himself how much weight ought to be given to the use of the word, as he finds it on the page of Christian antiquity. I believe it exactly corresponds with the usage of the New Testament; but how far it confirms our opinion of that usage is to be decided with due consideration of all the circumstances.

It may possibly be thought that we have no right to adduce any citations from the Latin Fathers upon the current usage of a Greek word; but as there was no difference whatever in the usage of the Greek and Latin church, no controversy upon the practice between Byzantium and Carthage, Alexandria and Rome, and as the Latins derived both the word and the use of it from the Greeks, I think the Latin usage, corresponding as it does with the Greek, may assist the illustration, leaving my readers to take what discount they please from the Latin authority, although believing that under the circumstances very little ought to be taken. I, however, only advert to it in one or two instances for the sake of illustration. That in the language of the ancient church, the word baptism is not used as equivalent to immersion, may, I think, be demonstrated by the following considerations:—

1. Ecclesiastical writers admit Christian baptisms to have been valid in which there was no immersion.
2. They speak of other ablutions as baptisms in which there was no immersion.
3. They apply to Christian baptism passages of Scripture which obviously exclude immersion.
4. They speak of the lustrations of the heathen, in which

there was no immersion, as their baptisms or imitations of baptism.

Each of these facts, if established, would prove that the first Christians did not use the word as synonymous with immersion; but the argument is cumulative, sustained by the four considerations. The amount of it is, if in the language of the three centuries immediately after the giving of the commission, "baptize all nations," the words did not mean, immerse all nations, we ought to hesitate, nineteen centuries afterwards, before we impose that sense upon them. I say not that the objection of itself is insurmountable; but let it be considered in connexion with the reasoning which has been already adduced. It is not easy to mistake this argument on philology for a question on church authority.

1. Ecclesiastical writers admit Christian baptism to have been valid in which there was no immersion.

The present question is, not whether they were right or wrong, but whether they understood the word baptism to be equivalent to immersion. If the word baptism in their age strictly and exclusively meant immersion, then they admitted that to be Christian immersion in which there was no immersion at all. I speak not of one or two, who might ill understand the language of their age, but of ecclesiastical antiquity, which, however it required immersion as generally to be practised, admitted that in certain cases baptism might be administered by affusion. With the ancient church affusion—however seldom it might have been practised, however much it might have been disliked—was baptism, but surely affusion was not in their language immersion. Clinical baptism we may be told is unscriptural, as we may be told it was discountenanced by the Fathers; but that is not the answer to the argument, that it was baptism in the opinion of men who spoke the language of the New Testament. All who held the validity

of clinical baptism, the *περίχυσις*, circumfusion of the sick, must have understood the commission of our Lord to include that mode in the baptism which it commanded. To maintain the validity of circumfusion, is to assert in other words, that to baptize, in the language of the church, is not the same as to immerse. But it may be asked, was this affusion ever called baptism?

Gregory of Nyssa, in his Oration addressed to those who defer their baptism, calls it *ἐντάφιον τὸ βάπτισμα*, the funeral baptism, the baptism for the burial, but surely not the immersion for it. Cyprian expressly calls it the baptism of the church when he contends for its validity; but surely it was not the immersion of the church.\* The circumfusion of Novatus in his bed has been generally noticed in this controversy, as the account is given in the letters of Cornelius of Rome, preserved by Eusebius.† As Novatus was deemed an incorrigible schismatic, “that cunning and malicious beast,” Cornelius, apparently with the good-will of sixty other bishops and many presbyters, did all he could to depreciate his character and baptism, and yet he dared not deny the validity of the affusion. Since the lecture was delivered, I find that Dr. Beecher‡ has cited a passage from Nicephorus, who says expressly that he baptized him by circumfusion on his bed. Had this testimony been a thousand years earlier, I should have liked it so much the better; although Nicephorus, as he himself intimates, studiously employed on all occasions the language of earlier writers.

It has indeed been objected that this affusion of the sick was not regarded as complete baptism, because by the canons of some councils the persons so baptized were not allowed to be ordained. That such persons were not re-baptized evidently shows that immersion was not deemed indispensable; they are said to have been illumined, and

\* Ep. lib. iv. 7.

† Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. 43.

‡ Lib. Rep. Jan. 1843. 'Εν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ἣ ἔκειτο περιχυθέντα δῶθεν ἐβάπτισεν.

to have received the illumination, in terms constantly employed to designate baptism.\* Cyprian, in treating of this question, maintains that they have the sacrament of salvation, and cites in proof of it the prophecy, "I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean."† The reason of the exclusion of the clinics from ordination is stated by the councils themselves, as in the twelfth canon of that of Neo-Cæsarea: "He that is baptized in sickness shall not be ordained a presbyter, *because his faith was not voluntary*, but as it were of constraint, except afterwards his faith and diligence recommend him, or else the scarcity of men make it necessary." The delay of baptism, it is well known, was reckoned a grievous offence, and therefore those baptized in the prospect of death, if they recovered, were regarded as not having acted a manly and honourable part, and so on account not of the defect of their baptism, but of the impropriety of their conduct, they were excluded from the ministry. Gregory of Nyssa even doubts whether, if they die speedily, they enter the kingdom of heaven, although they may escape punishment: and remonstrances often occur against those who delayed their baptism until the approach of death.‡ They were to become qualified for the ministry, not by immersion supplying the defect of their baptism, but by extraordinary faith and diligence compensating their previous negligence.§ The same rule was enacted by the council of Illiberis, and observed in many churches, with respect to those who were baptized by heretics, although the heretical baptism was esteemed valid and sufficient.|| I

\* 'Εὰν νοσῶν τις φωτισθῇ, εἰς πρεσβύτερον ἄγεσθαι οὐ δύναται.—Can. xii. Neo-Cæsar. "Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ἐν νόσῳ παραλαμβάνοντας τὸ φῶτισμα, καὶ εἴτα ἀναστάντας, ἐκμανθάνειν τὴν πίστιν, καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι θείας δωρεάς κατηξιώθησαν.—Can. xlvii. Laodic. + Ep. lib. iv. 7. † Orat. *In eos qui differunt baptismum*.

§ Neander speaking of this law says, "The only intention was to keep out of the clerical profession all who, without real repentance, had been induced to be baptized by the agitation of the fear of death."

|| Conc. Illib., c. li.

must repeat, that I do not cite these instances as authorities for aspersion, but only as proving, or at least contributing to prove, that the ancient churches did not understand the word baptism as synonymous with immersion. It would have been, I confess, more satisfactory, if I could have found a Greek writer using terms as decided as those of Cyprian.

It has been objected that clinical baptism was doubted, if not disowned, in the letters of Cornelius respecting Novatus, as we have the account in Eusebius. The words are, "being supposed at the point of death, he was circumfused on his bed, if indeed it be proper to say that such an one received it." It is, however, obvious that the objection refers to the infamous character of the man, τοιοῦτον, such a man. I take no notice of the other instances of affusion adduced by Wall and others, as that of the man baptized from a pitcher of water at the martyrdom of St. Lawrence, or the dying man mentioned by Gregory of Nyssa, who expired while they were bringing water to his bed, because I do not think much reliance ought to be placed either on the facts themselves or on the authorities from which they are selected, except as they show the opinions of the narrators. There are two passages in Tertullian which are thought by some to elucidate the controversy; the one, "De Pœnitentiâ," c. vi.; (this tract is generally supposed to have been written before Tertullian became a Montanist, as is evident from its discrepancy with the tract "De Pudicitâ" upon the subject of repentance after baptism.) "Quis enim tibi tam infidæ pœnitentiæ viro asperginem unam cujuslibet aquæ commodabit?" Who will furnish you a man, whose repentance is so treacherous, with one sprinkling of any water whatever? Although there is an allusion to sprinkling, the passage may be thought to mean, Who would even sprinkle you with common water, much less immerse you in the sacred water? The other, ("De Baptismo," c. xii.) "Some



intimate, in a manner very forced indeed, that the apostles supplied the place of baptism when they were sprinkled and wetted with the waves in the ship," does prove, although Tertullian, as is evident from the subsequent passage, did not consider this to be the baptism of the apostles, that immersion was not, at least by those who supported this hypothesis, believed to be essential in baptism. In the ecclesiastical writers, we continually find the expressions noticed in our remarks upon the New Testament, baptized with water not into water; as in Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking of Simon Magus, "he baptized his body with water,"\* and so continually we find the case of the instrument, both with and without prepositions, and with every preposition which can be construed with the instrument of baptizing.

2. Ecclesiastical writers speak of other ablutions as baptisms, in which there was no immersion. In support of this statement it will be sufficient to advert to the manner in which the Fathers frequently speak of three baptisms, the baptism of water for initiation, the baptism of tears in penitence, and the baptism of blood in martyrdom.

Thus Gregory Nazianzen says, "I know also a fourth baptism, that through martyrdom and blood, by which Christ himself was baptized; and much more sacred than the others, inasmuch as it is contaminated with no second stain."† Again, "I know also a fifth, of tears, but distressing, as of him every night washing his bed with his tears."‡ The youth who, after baptism having forsaken the church

\* Proöm. in Cat.: τὸ μὲν σῶμα ἔβαψεν ὕδατι. Again, Catech. iii., τῷ ὕδατι βαπτίζομενος, baptized with water. Did Cyril use βάπτω instead of βαπτίζω, in the former instance, from a scruple in calling Simon Magus baptized? The use of the word is remarkable, and corresponds with that of Arrian.

† Οἶδα καὶ τέταρτον βάπτισμα, τὸ διὰ μαρτυρίου καὶ αἵματος, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸς Χριστὸς ἐβαπτίσατο, καὶ πολὺ γε τῶν ἄλλων αἰδεσιμώτερον, ὅσῳ δευτέροις ῥύποις οὐ μολύνεται. —Orat. xxxix.

‡ Οἶδα καὶ πέμπτον ἔτι τῶν δακρύων, ἀλλ' ἐπιπονώτερον, ὡς ὁ λούων καθ' ἑκάστην νύκτα τὴν κλίνην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν στρωμνὴν τοῖς δάκρυσι. —Orat. xxxix.

and joined a band of robbers, was reclaimed by the apostle John, is said in the narrative of Eusebius, preserved from Clement of Alexandria, "to have thrown away his arms, trembling with bitter lamentations, as if baptized a second time with his own tears."\* The blood and water flowing from the wounded side of Jesus are sometimes by the Fathers regarded as typical of the baptisms of water and of blood.† Thus Cyril of Jerusalem: "The Saviour, when his side was pierced, poured forth blood and water, because in times of peace men would be baptized with water, in times of persecution with their own blood. For the Saviour thought fit to call martyrdom baptism, saying, 'Can ye drink of the cup which I drink, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?'"‡ It may suffice to add from Athanasius, at least as he is cited by Suicer, or whoever the writer may have been, "Three baptisms, purifying from every sin whatsoever, God hath granted to the nature of man; I mean that of water, and next that through martyrdom of one's own blood, and a third that through tears."§ When two of these three baptisms were obviously without immersion, can it be said that the term baptism, in the current language of the ancient church, was synonymous with immersion? Would any person now speak of dipping the penitent into his own tears, or of dipping the martyr into his own blood? If the baptized with tears and the baptized with blood were not immersed, what right have any to affirm, that in the estimation of the persons who used such language, the baptized with water must necessarily have been immersed? Would our Baptist friends, who maintain that to baptize ought invariably to

\* Eusebius, lib. iii. 123.

† More frequently this double effusion is regarded as typical of purification and redemption, or of the two sacraments.

‡ Catech. iii. 10.

§ Τρία βαπτίσματα, καθαρτικά πάσης οίας δὴποτε ἁμαρτίας, ὁ Θεὸς τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐδωρήσατο· λέγω δὴ, τὸ ὕδατος, καὶ πάλιν τὸ διὰ μαρτυρίας τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος, καὶ τρίτον τὸ διὰ δακρῶν.—Quæst. ad Antioch. Quæst. lxxii.

be translated to dip, call these the three dippings? I repeat that I am not appealing to church authority, but to the language of ecclesiastical writers; and to ascertain the meaning and use of words in the New Testament, the language of the Christian Fathers is at least as unexceptionable as that of heathen poets and orators. And if heretics might be supposed to speak with the tongues of men, and might be permitted to speak upon such a subject, the Carpocratians and others, who branded the ears of their disciples in order to baptize them with fire, and such of the Valentinians as, according to Irenæus,\* did not lead the person to the water, but poured a mixture of oil and water upon his head, did not regard baptism to be synonymous with immersion;† at least if they called their pouring baptism, as it was their substitute. As authorities in doctrine I think these men no better, and certainly not much worse, than the orthodox Fathers of the Catholic church; but I do not know that they should be denied a hearing in a question of words.‡

3 Ecclesiastical writers apply to baptism passages of Scripture which obviously exclude immersion.

There is no passage of the Old Testament more frequently applied to baptism than the prophecy of Ezekiel, "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean," (xxxvi. 25.) The question is not whether this be the correct application of the passage, but whether it proves that the Fathers did not consider immersion and baptism

\* Adv. Hæreses. lib. i. c. 24, & lib. i. c. 18.

† Epiphanius says they poured this upon the *τελειουμένων*, initiated, the common name of baptized.—Hær. xxx.

‡ As to the baptism of fire, if so the ancient heretics called their branding, and I do not feel confident of the fact; so loose a sense of the term can do little more than show the loss of the primary signification. In the *Excerpta* of Theodotus (xxv.) this branding is noticed as explaining the baptism of fire, but most of the orthodox interpretations of that baptism are no more favourable to immersion, whether they refer it to the fiery tongues of the Pentecost, or to the spirit of burning and of judgment, to test the disciples of Christ on the last day.

to be synonymous words. If the term baptism suggested to their minds the use of water generally as the Christian rite, it is easy to account for this citation. Without asserting that they correctly understood the passage, we perceive by the use they made of it, that there was in their minds an association of the ideas of baptism and sprinkling. But if, on the contrary, the term suggested the idea of immersion and nothing else, the association of sprinkling with it is inexplicable. Would any Baptist brother introducing this prophecy into his elucidation of Christian baptism, promise his hearers a sprinkling with clean water? Or if he were to do so, would not his brethren suspect that some Pædo-baptistical hallucination was disturbing his intellect? But this passage is thus explained by Theodoret, "Pure water the prophet calls the water of regeneration, by which being baptized we received the forgiveness of sins." \* Cyril of Jerusalem says, "And other texts thou heardest before, in what was said on baptism: Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you." † To the same effect I might cite Cyril of Alexandria, ‡ Gregory of Nyssa, § and other Greek Fathers, without noticing the Latins, or the ancient baptismal offices in which the text is introduced. ||

Ps. li. 7.—"Purge me with hyssop" is rendered in the Septuagint, "*ῥαντίεις με ὑσώπων*," thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop. This verse so rendered is applied to baptism, as in the Commentary of Theodoret,—"Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed, for the gift of baptism alone can produce this cleansing;" ¶ and to the

\* Theod. Com. ad loc.

† Ad Catech. xvi. 30. See also, iii. 16.

‡ In Lev.

§ De Bap. Christ.

|| I do not cite Cyprian, who expressly alleges this passage in proof of the validity of affusion, nor the council held under him, because it is there used for a controversial purpose. If I laid much stress upon Latin authorities, I would refer to the Comment of Jerome, who thus explains the passage, to "pour upon those who believed and were converted from their errors, the clean water of saving baptism."—Ad loc.

¶ Ad loc.

same effect other Fathers, both Greek and Latin, who apply this psalm to Christian baptism. The sprinkling of the blood of the paschal lamb with the hyssop branch is called by Ambrose the baptism according to the law, or the typical baptism. The orientals held the same opinion, as may be inferred from the use of the terms, the holy hyssop, the sin-remitting hyssop, the hyssop cleansing all stains; and from similar expressions in the Syriac, Coptic, and Maronite sacramental offices.\* But if the Latins and barbarians are not to be allowed to speak on this question, let us return to the Greeks.

The sprinkling of the leper by the priest, as well as other Levitical sprinklings, were regarded as types of baptism. Thus says Theodoret, "The leper sprinkled with pure water was declared pure and clean; so doth he who believeth in Christ, and is washed with the water of holy baptism, put off the spots of sin."† Cyril of Alexandria preserves the parallel more at length, considering the water wherewith the leprous house must be sprinkled, as typical of baptism.‡ And again he says of the ashes of the heifer which sprinkled the unclean, "We are baptized not with mere water, nor with the ashes of the heifer, but with the Holy Spirit."§ Gregory of Nyssa says, "The daily sprinklings of the Hebrews were about to be done away by the perfect and wonderful baptism."|| Origen says, that "Elias did not baptize the wood upon the altar, but commanded the priests to do that. How then was he who did not baptize himself, but left it to others, about to baptize when he came according to the prophecy of Malachi?"¶ The water according to the Septuagint, as well as the Hebrew, was poured upon the wood of the sacrifice. Irenæus, alluding

\* See Pusey on Baptism, p. 375.

+ Ad loc. † Hom. 16, § 2. See also Chrysostom on Heb. ix.

§ Βεβαπτίσμεθα μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν ὕδατι γύμνω ἄλλ' οὐδὲ σπένδω δαμάλῳ ἄλλ' ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ.—Cyril Alex. in Isa. iv. 4.

|| Greg. Nyss. in Baptis. Christi.

¶ Origen. Com. in Joh.



to water falling upon the dry earth, compares the baptism of our bodies to the rain which is freely shed from heaven.\* These passages, and many more of a similar kind, show that, in the estimation of the Fathers speaking Greek, immersion was not the idea invariably associated with the word baptism.

4. Ecclesiastical writers speak of the lustrations of the heathen, in which there was no immersion, as their baptisms or their imitations of baptism.

It was a prevalent opinion among the Fathers, that the demons pre-occupied the minds of men by spreading abroad semblances of evangelical truth, counterfeits of the Christian religion, of which they had some previous intelligence, by their knowledge of the ancient prophecies, in order to prevent the Gospel from being received.† So they explain the heathen ablutions as imitations of Christian baptism,‡ although in many of them there was no immersion. Thus Justin Martyr contends, that from the prophecies of the true baptism the worshippers in the heathen temples were taught by demons to sprinkle themselves with water, before they made their offerings.§ Clement of Alexandria represents the custom among the heathen of washing before prayer as a figure of baptism.||—citing from Homer the verses respecting Penelope sprinkling herself, and Telemachus washing his hands. Tertullian, agreeing in his opinions of baptism with the Greeks, for in his time there was no discrepancy between the Greek and Latin church, speaking of the zeal of the devil emulating the things of God, when he administers baptism upon his own people, says,¶ “Even the gods themselves they honour by wash-

\* Irenæus adv. Hæc. iii. 17.

† See Justin Martyr, Apol. i. 54, 61. Dial. c. Tryph. § 70, 78. Cyril Hier. xv. 11. Tertullian, Apol. i. 22. Be Bap. c. v.

‡ In many sacrilegious rites of idols, persons are said to be baptized.—Aug. c. Don. vi. 25.

§ Apol. i. p. 94.—Edit. Paris.

|| Strom. lib. iv. p. 270.—Ed. Syl. Col. 1588.

¶ De Bap. c. v.

ings. Water every where carried about maketh expiation by sprinkling for town and country houses, temples, and entire cities.\* Certainly they are baptized at the games of Apollo and those at Eleusis; and this they suppose they do for regeneration and pardon in their perjuries."† These lustrations, the greater part of which were performed by sprinkling, the Fathers were accustomed to consider as the baptisms, but surely not as the immersions, of the heathen.

For these four reasons,—because they held baptism administered without immersion to be valid, because they acknowledged other baptisms in which there was no immersion, because they refer to baptism, passages and types of Scripture from which the idea of immersion is excluded, and because they consider lustrations by sprinkling as heathen baptisms, I believe the ecclesiastical writers, not only the Latin whom I have noticed only to show their concurrence, but also the Greek, to whom the language of the New Testament was vernacular, did not regard immersion as necessarily included in the meaning of the word baptism.

\* The reference is to the *Ambarvale* (*arva ambire*) and the *Amburbale* (*urbem ambire*), in which lands and cities were consecrated by water sprinkled upon them:—

"Mox jubet et totam pavidis a civibus Urbem  
Ambiri, et festo purgantes mœnia lustro:  
Longa per extremos pomœria cingere fines  
Pontifices, sacri quibus est permissa potestas.  
Turba minor ritu sequitur succincta Gabino,  
Vestalemque chorum ducit vittata sacerdos,  
Trojanam soli cui fas vidisse Minervam.  
Tum qui fata deum, secretaque carmina servant,  
Et lotam parvo revocant Almone Cybellen."—*Lucan* i. 592—600.

+ To the lustration of the initiated at the Eleusinian mysteries, Virgil refers, when *Æneas* is about to enter *Elysium*:—

"A verdant branch of olive in his hands,  
He moved around and purified the bands;  
Slow as he passed the lustral waters shed;  
Then closed the rites, and thrice invoked the dead."

"Occupat *Æneas* aditum, corpusque recenti  
Spargit aqua, ramumque adverso in limine figit."

*Æn.* vi. 635, 636.

It may be said in reply, Yet these very men almost uniformly practised immersion. My answer is, so much the better for the argument. Amidst their deeds their speech bewrayeth them. Their practice of immersion forbids us to account for their language by supposing that a conventional use of the term had grown up in accordance with the customs of the church. They did immerse, for they seem as if they could not have made too much use of the holy water. With one immersion not content, they observed the trine immersion as the sacramental emblem of the Trinity. They immersed their disciples naked, as the emblem of the putting off the old man, that in the new vestments they might appear clad in the garments of salvation. Yet these men, exceedingly zealous for all the mysterious immersions of the baptistry, as they learned their mother-tongue, not in the church but in the schools, often speak of baptism in opposition to the customs and prejudices of the age, as if it were washing without immersion. We appeal only to their language, and our Baptist friends are quite welcome to the benefit of their example, doctrine, and practice.

In closing this long lecture, allow me in a few words to recapitulate the argument. The doctrine we have opposed is, that immersion is the only mode of baptism. The burden of the proof belongs to our opponents, and they argue from the invariable meaning of the Greek verb, that the command to baptize is exactly equivalent to a command to immerse. We, on the contrary, have attempted to show, with what success others must decide, that the Greek word does not necessarily imply immersion. Our argument, supported by instances which we believe to be good, is that in the classical authors there is mention of baptism by covering with water,—that in the New Testament there are baptisms without immersion,—that Christian baptism is often alluded to in language which is unfavourable to the opinion of immersion,—that in many instances in which

Christian baptism was administered immersion was extremely improbable if not impracticable,—and that the early Greek writers did not understand baptism to be equivalent to immersion. On these accounts, we dare not concede to our friends the right to restrict the administration of baptism to any one mode. Scripture imposes upon us no such restriction ; and to allow any inferior authority to do so would be to compromise a principle of inestimable importance. The argument of this lecture, I repeat, is not in opposition to immersion, as a proper mode of baptism, but in opposition to the pretensions of those who declare that it is the only proper mode, and consequently that all Protestants, save themselves, being unbaptized, are not in that kingdom into which we enter by being born of water.

## APPENDIX TO LECTURE VI.

ON THE PRINCIPAL POINTS OF THIS LECTURE AS THEY ARE AFFECTED  
BY THE REASONING OF DR. CARSON, IN HIS WORK ENTITLED,  
“BAPTISM IN ITS MODE AND SUBJECTS.”

THIS work of Dr. Carson's is generally regarded as the ablest defence of his side of the question, so far as the mode of baptism is concerned; and by many immersionists is esteemed absolutely conclusive upon that part of the controversy. In composing the lecture without having consulted it, I may be thought culpably negligent; but having failed in many attempts to procure it, on application both to booksellers and friends, and observing that a new edition was announced, with additions and replies to several opponents, I proceeded with the intention, on the revisal of the lecture, to correct any errors of which I might be convinced on reading the work in its improved form. As the sheets were going through the press, it came into my hands, and it has induced me to reconsider parts of my lecture, and to submit them to some modification, of which it is my duty to give the reader distinct notice.\*

In the first place, I was not aware of the difference between Dr. Carson and preceding Baptist writers on the secondary meaning of βάπτω, to dye. The lake in Homer *stained* with frogs' blood, and the comedian in Aristophanes *besmeared* with frog-like colours, and the robe in Æschylus *stained* with gore, and the hand in Aristotle *stained* with the compressed juice of a berry,—and many such like usages of this verb, had been protruded before the eyes of our Baptist brethren from the beginning of the controversy, without disturbing their confidence in the invincible propensity of βάπτω, to dip in drugs, pharmacs, and colours, as constantly as in clean water. In

\* As the Lecture is substantially the same as in the former edition, I have retained this notice, as accounting for the absence of more distinct reference to Dr. Carson's work in the Lecture. I have also retained the reasoning, as it was written under the impression that it would have come under the keen criticism of Dr. Carson; but I have expunged some harsh expressions, the use of which I exceedingly regret.



their sight, as their writers invariably asserted, it would stain nothing without dipping it. As generally, I am told, as they did follow Dr. Gale in denying a secondary meaning, do they now follow Dr. Carson in asserting it. To what extent this may be true, I cannot say; but as no opponent appears, and as we have no reason to suspect the sincerity of our brethren's convictions, the result furnishes a remarkable instance of the difference in the force or the impression of arguments, as they are suggested by a friend, and as they are propounded by a foe: That βάπτω often means to dye without dipping, was said by one Pædobaptist after another, no Baptist regarding; but when Dr. Carson said the same thing, multitudes were converted. I have modified the introductory remarks of the lecture, without being sure that I have correctly appreciated the extent of this change of opinion. As it is not probable that all our Baptist friends have as yet re-cast their ancient opinions, and forsaken the old dye-vat, in defending which their fathers expended so much learning and argument,—I have not suppressed some remarks on their inflexible adherence to the unvarying signification of mutable words. How far Dr. Carson is chargeable with unreasonable tenacity in reference to the sense of the derivative, is matter of discussion between him and those who say, with Professor Stuart of Andover, that he lays down "very adventurous positions in respect to one meaning and one only, of words, which as it seems to me," (Professor Stuart) "every lexicon on earth contradicts, and always must contradict."—Bib. Rep. April, 1833. For my own part I am bound to say, although I differ from many of the most intelligent of my brethren, who hold Dr. Carson in this particular to be especially unsound, that in his remarks on the varying and secondary senses of words, I can detect nothing unfair or unreasonable. His great principle, if I correctly understand him, is that whoever assigns to a disputed word a secondary sense, or any variation of usage, is bound to the proof of it. Can anything be more reasonable? The difficulty, I fear, will be found in adjusting the practical question, What amount of evidence ought to be deemed sufficient in these cases?

Dr. Carson has also induced me to consider more carefully the danger of pressing historical difficulties in reference to events of which, as they occurred in a distant age, we must be ignorant of many circumstances. Great and insuperable difficulties, as they appear to me, present themselves in supposing that all the baptisms mentioned in the New Testament were performed by immersion. I cannot imagine how three thousand persons were immersed in one day in Jerusalem at the season of the Pentecost without any previous

arrangement, as I do not believe it could now be done with decency and propriety in Manchester. Nor do I perceive how the apostles could call upon a promiscuous crowd of men and women to be immediately immersed without any preparation. The solutions which our Baptist friends offer, so far from affording the slightest relief, appear to me rather to confirm the objection. I am, however, bound to acknowledge that these difficulties may be attributed to our ignorance of the circumstances; and therefore while, on the one side, the difficulties ought to be considered, on the other, our ignorance ought not to be disregarded. No opponent can more earnestly desire the reader to look cautiously upon that part of the lecture than I do myself. Let the difficulties have their full weight, but always with the reserved possibility of a solution, could we learn more of the particulars and minute incidents of the relation. I feel the force of Dr. Carson's remarks on this part of the argument, and am anxious still more carefully to consider them; but when he talks in reference to the numbers baptized by John, of giving more time to John's ministry, of finding him under-baptizers, or of doing other things not mentioned in the evangelical narrative, the effect is rather to confirm than to convince; as we perceive he offers no better solution of the difficulties than those which every attentive reader on our side has probably considered and rejected. With this modification of my views, I have no right to suppress that part of the argument, for these difficulties ought to be considered; but I would have them considered with the explanation I have just offered.

The argument founded on the parallelism in Heb. x. 22, "Let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water," I proposed in the lecture (pp. 388—392) with little confidence, as the language throughout implies doubt and hesitation. The great objection is the use of the word *λελουμένοι*, which generally denotes the washing of the person by bathing, and not of a part by sprinkling, or other application of water. Although Dr. Beecher has shown that this word is not restricted to the washing of the person, so absolutely as is generally supposed;\* and although it appears clearly there was no immersion in entering the Jewish sanctuary, yet I must acknowledge I have no right to attribute an unusual sense to a word in the New Testament for the sake of a closer corre-

\* Why Dr. Carson (p. 480) should ascribe to Dr. Campbell the distinction between *λούω*, to wash or bathe the person, and *νίπτω*, to wash the hands or other parts, I cannot imagine, as it is found in Stephen's, and, I doubt not, in all the old lexicons: *λούω*, applied to the person, *νίπτω*, to the hands and feet, *πλύνω*, to clothes.

spondence with the language of the Old. As at present instructed, I cannot, therefore, insist upon this verse; but as the reasoning is expressed in the lecture with caution and doubt, I have not suppressed it. Let the reader examine the passage for himself.

Having made these acknowledgments of some of the benefits which I have received from Dr. Carson, it becomes a more painful duty to state the grounds on which, after reading his book, I adhere to the main principles and arguments of the lecture.

It would be consistent neither with the respect which is due to so able a defender of immersion, nor with the limited space which I can allow to the discussion, to attempt in the form of an appendix any regular answer, or complete examination of his work. I proposed to append a brief notice of the words βάπτω and βαπτίζω; and a reference to the principles and authorities of Dr. Carson, so far as they affect the controversy, may be the more eligible form of accomplishing the proposal, as well as of defending my views from the objections which may be suggested to a reader of his volume.

Dr. Carson has unhappily, not only in this publication, but in all his works, assumed a tone and style of controversy, which of late years has been, to a great extent, excluded from critical and polemical theology. With the most unsparing severity he exposes the mistakes of his opponents, although they are of a kind into which the ablest men are liable to fall. His argument he enlivens with the most contemptuous expressions, as if he noticed only in condescension to their weakness all who venture to controvert anything which he has asserted. His epithets and phrases seem (although I am sure he does not intend so to use them) as if they were selected on purpose to give pain, to crush and terrify an opponent. There is about him a loftiness and elevation of mind which all must admire,—an evident and intense devotion to truth, which probably may be in some degree the cause, if not the excuse, of the peculiarly severe, apparently scornful, and often personally offensive language, into which, not of design but insensibly, he seems to glide. He declares that he judges no man's motives, and yet he says their reasoning is as wicked as it is weak. He avows in his severest passages that he has as little angry feeling as when he says, that "the three angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles;" but how much more Christian-like may be this cool, apathetic mode of vituperation, the sardonic sneer of the stomach, than real, earnest, passionate abuse of the heart, I do not pretend to determine. When his patient complains, he says it shows great want of discrimination, for his dissection of an opponent is part of his argument (an important part,

I should think, calculating on the frequency of its recurrence); as solemnly, and deliberately, and on principle he shows that their opinions are the conclusions of men incompetent to reason upon the subject. All this is said with such an apparent (I do not believe it is real) affectation of superiority, that I doubt not his sayings will pass as oracular with many to whom his argument (and much of learned and potent, although rude and ill-compressed argument he has,) will be quite superfluous.

The Doctor, professedly, uses the knife. Whether he succeed or fail in refuting his adversary, he contrives to inflict a dreadful scalping. He tells us, his dissections are painful to himself; (assuredly they are to others;) but like a good surgeon, he most admirably contrives to conceal his weaker sympathies, so that such as know him not would think he cruelly delighted in feats of amputation. Even when he cuts his own fingers, he works on, betraying no uneasy sensations, and apparently as insensible to pain as if he were cutting off the offending member of his patient. To speak of Dr. Carson with respect, as of a man of talents, learning, sincerity, and moral worth, is unquestionably my duty; but to notice his arguments, without adverting to the manner in which he propounds them, is more than ought to be expected of flesh and blood.

In reply to his suggestion, that the pitiable inability of the defenders of sprinkling is evidence against their doctrine, I would suggest that, if this be true, our cause must have materially suffered in general estimation from the feebleness and folly of its advocates. Be it that our writers are as deficient in learning and logic as Dr. Carson represents them, we are entitled to inquire, how would our cause have appeared, if it had fortunately obtained more argumentative and vigorous supporters? Miserably as it has been sustained, it has kept its position in the Christian church. If, instead of Ewing and Wardlaw, the Congregational Magazine, and President Beecher, men of weak as well as wicked reasoning—of no discrimination—of no soul for figures—of no skill in philology—of no force of logic, sprinkling had been defended by Dr. Carson, or by men of his power in discrimination, in figures, in philology, and in logic, what would be the present state of the controversy! Dr. Carson intimates, that sprinklers do not know their own business; that is, I suppose, do not know the best arguments on their own side; what if they had been as well mounted and equipped as himself for the conflict! If sprinkling has had no other defenders than such as deserve to be treated with consummate contempt, it must have



some vitality of its own, or it would before the power of its opponents have withered and perished in the Christian church.

But our cause is defended by other advocates than those who are thus coolly and on principle dissected and destroyed. Be it that Dr. Carson has annihilated Ewing, and all the poptists, Beecher, and all the purifiers, what does he think of his own learning and logic? He speaks favourably of Dr. Cox, not more favourably than every one, who knows that most respectable minister, would cheerfully speak of him. But Dr. Cox and Dr. Carson, taken together, prove our case. Dr. Cox contends, that baptism or immersion may be effected by pouring, or by making water come up from the ground, provided it cover the person, as Nebuchadnezzar was baptized by superfusion of dew.\* Dr. Carson says, (p. 37,) Dr. Cox "gives up the point at issue, as far as mode is concerned," and elsewhere wonders what he has to contend about. If Dr. Cox be right in his concession, and Dr. Carson in his assertion; if Dr. Cox be right in his philology, and Dr. Carson in his logic; if Dr. Cox be right in his opinion of baptism, and Dr. Carson be right in his opinion of his brother Baptist, we have our case proved by men whose talents and learning are not to be estimated in the contemptuous manner in which Dr. Carson has gibbeted Pædobaptist incompetents for the edification of the Christian church.

It may be supposed that the dissection of opponents after the style of Dr. Carson, is a proof of acute penetration in detecting their errors, and of great ability in exposing them. I can assure my readers who have no practice in such matters, that nothing is more easy. There are abundant materials for anatomical experiments in Dr. Carson's book, on which, were any one to employ himself with as little feeling as the geometrician studies his triangle, he might easily detect numerous errors as gross and inexcusable as any which its author exposes in the most incompetent of his opponents. The subject is tempting, but I will refer only to one or two instances, with the hope that Dr. Carson may be induced to refrain from a style of controversy which can so easily be retorted upon himself. In adverting to them, I do not depreciate his learning or talents; which I believe to be of a high order; nor do I insinuate, as he does, that such things damnify a cause, by proving the incompetency of its defenders. Had he not avowedly defended the style of controversy which he has adopted, I should have passed his mistakes with a respectful *bonus dormitat Homerus*. To show that he is fallible, like the rest

\* On Baptism, p. 94, 41.



of us, if it do not put him on his good behaviour, may teach others not to depend upon peremptory assertion, because it is expressed in terms of contemptuous disregard for all opponents.

It has been said in this controversy, that the Fathers regarded circumfusion, or affusion in bed, as valid baptism, and that they called it baptism. The authority of Cyprian has been adduced, and as his words are very plain and express, it has been adduced with confidence. Dr. Carson says, "Mr. Beecher's confidence is an additional proof of his want of discrimination." In saying that Cyprian calls affusion "ecclesiastical baptism," who would not speak with confidence? But does Dr. Carson in his reply betray any lack of confidence? He says, "Cyprian calls perfusion the ecclesiastical baptism, as distinguished from baptism, in the proper sense of the term. The persons perfused in their beds on account of sickness were not supposed to be properly baptized; but they received *the ecclesiastical baptism*; that is, *what the church, in such cases, admitted as a valid substitute for baptism*. This fact is *conclusive*, and will afford *an answer to all the passages* referred to by President Beecher, to prove a secondary meaning in the use of the word among the Fathers." (p. 489.) What language can betray less hesitation? Has the man who can say, without faltering, "Cyprian calls perfusion *the ecclesiastical baptism*, as distinguished from baptism in *the proper sense of the term*," the right to rebuke Dr. Beecher, or any one else, for too much confidence? "This fact is conclusive," and it is proposed as "the answer to all the passages referred to by President Beecher." What Cyprian means by the "ecclesiastical baptism," is a question beyond the reach of dispute. No one would think of arguing it with the person who could write—"Cyprian calls perfusion 'the ecclesiastical baptism,' as distinguished from baptism in the proper sense of the term,"—"the ecclesiastical baptism admitted as a valid substitute for baptism." Every reader of Cyprian knows the meaning of "the ecclesiastical baptism." Let Dr. Carson turn over the pages of Cyprian as he will; the "ecclesiastical baptism" will obtrude upon him as "the legitimate and true and only baptism of the church." Will he deny that immersion as well as perfusion is called "the ecclesiastical baptism?" Has he never read in Cyprian the account of the Council of Carthage? Has he never observed, that in the proceedings respecting the baptizing of heretics, the true baptism of the church and the ecclesiastical baptism (*ecclesiasticus baptismus*) are used indiscriminately? Has he not seen the ecclesiastical baptism opposed to the heretical? When Natalis of Oëa gave his opinion in the council that heretics could

not be admitted into communion, unless they received the "ecclesiastical baptism," did he mean unless they were perfused? Dr. Carson has more to say on behalf of sprinkling than any of us. In saying that perfusion was called "ecclesiastical baptism," he virtually represents Christian antiquity as sprinkling.

"Cyprian calls perfusion the ecclesiastical baptism as distinguished from baptism in the proper sense of the term!" I wish Dr. Carson would prove his assertion, for so he would prove that, in the opinion of Cyprian, Philip baptized the Samaritans by perfusion. That Father says, "because they had obtained the ecclesiastical baptism\* they had no further need of baptism from Peter and John, but only required the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands." Did Cyprian believe that the Samaritan men and women and Simon Magus were all clinics, aspersed with "the ecclesiastical baptism?" I do not reserve this passage for reasoning, as my readers would think me trifling, were I to reason upon so marvellous an assertion. I adduce it to show that it does not become Dr. Carson, who reasons upon terms which he has never considered, to reprove the confidence of others. This strange notion vitiates his reasoning on the Fathers, for he avowedly makes it the exposition of other passages, which are adduced from ecclesiastical antiquity in opposition to his opinions.

Dr. Carson is said to be better acquainted with profane than with ecclesiastical writers; yet even in his own favourite land how often may he be caught stumbling! To show how little he attends to the connexion of his own citations, and, therefore, unless he have intuitive perception of their meaning, how little is their value, the reader may find a curious and amusing illustration in his reference to Porphyry. I gently touch him on one of many sore places with his own knife, that those who confide in his skill may see with how ill a grace he uses it upon the quick of sensitive Pædobaptists. He says, (p. 58,) "The sinner is represented by Porphyry (p. 282,) as baptized up to his head in Styx, a celebrated river in hell." In the list of his authorities for translating βαπτίζω, to dip, this curious passage seemed to teach something so wonderful in mythology, that it immediately caught my attention. Although Dr. Carson charges honest people with forgery, I did not believe that he fabricated the passage. That Styx was a celebrated river in hell, was certainly not the perplexing statement; but that a poor sinner should be represented as immersed up to his head in it, and that the represent-

\* Ecclesiasticum baptismum consecuti fuerant. *De Hæreticis Baptizandis*, p. 325. Ed. Basil. 1521.

ation should be found in an admirer of Pythagoras, seemed very extraordinary information. Could I only have found the passage, I knew not to what mysteries it might prove the clue. How did the wicked ghost get into the river? Did Charon turn him out of the boat? Could he beguile the time, and alleviate his sorrow, with the music of that melodious parachoregema of poetical frogs, who sang their brekekekex, koax, koax, in the days of Aristophanes? Having no Porphyry except the beautifully printed Latin version of *De Abstinencia*, MDXLVII., Cum summi Pontificis et Senati Veneti privilegio in annos x., I read it with the vain hope of discovering the baptized sinner in Styx. Disappointed, I had to procure a Greek copy, and going through the "Life of Pythagoras," and that curious work, the "Cave of the Nymphs," in which may be found some good illustrations of the use of βάπτω; in that magic cave, the mystic manufactory of mortal men, I could discern no shadow of the sinner baptized in Styx. So reluctantly abandoning the search, I proceeded with Dr. Carson. Getting through the instances of βαπτίζω taken from Dr. Gale, I found some instances repeated with a change of translation, and among them, to my surprise, the sinner of Porphyry again baptized in Styx. "Porphyry applies the word to the heathen opinion of the baptism of the wicked in Styx, the famous lake in hell: 'when the accused person enters the lake, if he is innocent, he passes boldly through, having the water up to his knees; but if guilty, having advanced a little, he is plunged or baptized up to his head.' (De Styge, p. 282.) The baptism of Styx, then, is an immersion up to the head." This a heathen opinion! Where have we been studying mythology? De Styge, p. 282! Has the doctor recovered the treatise De Styge? Has he deciphered a palimpsest, and does he cite from the dim characters of the restored text of Porphyry? Has this recovered piece of Homeric criticism two hundred and eighty-two pages? On referring to a fragment of De Styge, preserved by Stobæus, containing about one page of moderate octavo, I fortunately found the words cited by Dr. Carson. The heathen opinion belongs to the Brahmins! The dipping of ghosts turns out to be no more in the Styx than in the Thames, as it is a dipping of bodies in a lake in India. In the whole fragment, there is not a word about the celebrated river in hell. Had the keen anatomist of the sprinklers but read either the preceding or the succeeding sentence, he would have found that he was not baptizing in the Stygian pool. What he means by page 282, I cannot divine. But, it may be asked, what has this ludicrous affair to do with the controversy? It does no more than afford the opportunity to say,

that when Dr. Carson catches a poor Pædobaptist thus immersed in the wrong place, he exposes the blunder before the world coolly, and on principle, as proof of incompetence and evidence against his opponents' cause. Let him, as a fallible man, learn from his own failings to respect the feelings of others; and so far from attempting to depreciate his talents or his learning, we shall cheerfully express, as we feel, the highest admiration of them both.

Dr. Carson has, I say it with unfeigned respect, the two worst vices which can adhere to controversy; he does not clearly cite his authorities, and he shifts his words.

He does not clearly cite his authorities. It is true he refers to his former edition for the Greek, but we cannot obtain that edition; and if we could, what right have we to be taxed with the price of another book to read his argument with fairness and satisfaction? But we desire not so much the few words of Greek, as the distinct references to the original in a form which we can use.—What sort of references are such as these: Plutarch says, Diodorus Siculus says, and so on, with only the English translation appended? By the laws of honest controversy, an opponent has a right to exclude all these passages from consideration. They may be held to amount to no more than the bare assertion of the appellant. I know where to find many of them, but there are some of importance which I cannot find. His frequent citation of the page of an author is also objectionable; for the reader may have, as I find to my cost, other editions of the same work; as in Hippocrates, where he cites from the Basil edition, and I, unfortunately, have the Frankfort. In the citations from Hippocrates of *βάπτω*, he assists us by referring to the particular treatises in which they occur, but in those of *βαπτίζω*, where the references are far more important, he withholds the name of the treatise from which he cites. To find one remarkable instance in which Hippocrates seems to use *βαπτίζω* in the sense in which he everywhere else employs *βάπτω*, I have turned over my copy in all directions, and even looked over the splendid Paris edition of Hippocrates and Galen, in thirteen volumes folio, without success. To find the citation, I know no means less laborious than to read through twelve hundred folio pages of Greek, or to make a journey to London or Tubbermore to consult the Basil edition. I make this statement, not in complaint of Dr. Carson, but in apology for myself in not noticing this particular citation. I do, however, complain of many other passages in which no reference at all is given. With such inexcusable suppressions, it is impossible to carry on controversy.

My next complaint is, Dr. Carson shifts his words. I will give the



instances respecting a part of the subject, in which, as I perfectly agree with him, I may judge the more impartially. As there are some persons who think that βάπτω does not in its primary and proper signification mean to dip, Dr. Carson undertakes to refute them; and as he would not willingly fight with a shadow, he must think this part of the controversy of some importance. He notices especially Dr. Owen, who asserts that not βάπτω, but ἐμβάπτω, is the proper word, to express dipping. Here then is the case of a class of Pædobaptists (I hope very small) represented by the great Dr. Owen; and not one of them, I will venture to say, nor any other man in the world, would maintain that ἐμβάπτω is not to dip. What are the tactics of Dr. Carson? He adduces his proofs that βάπτω is to dip; cites them in overwhelming numbers; pours in his forces, to the dismay of all Dr. Owen's living admirers; arms even his physicians; and puts old Hippocrates in the front of the fight. Citations follow citations in unbroken column, in which the Greeks are unfairly brought up in English uniform. "Dip," is inscribed upon every man; but upon consulting Hippocrates we find that the *embapto* is surreptitiously introduced with the *bapto*; and no man who has not Hippocrates to consult, or who has not the Basil edition, can tell how many citations are true and how many are false. If I had the right edition, I would give the proportions, but the proportions are of little consequence. I do not insinuate anything like intentional misrepresentation, of which I firmly believe Dr. Carson is utterly incapable; but if any one, from whatever cause, will shift his words, and introduce ἐμβάπτω in the name of βάπτω, I must see his authorities in their own books before I can trust them.

Let me also adduce an instance of the shifting of English words; and here I am a party concerned. Dr. Carson says that βαπτίζειν is "dip, and nothing but dip," (p. 61.) With respect to the instance of the bladder baptized, but not dipped, Dr. Carson says, "a bladder if sufficiently filled will dip, but will not sink." He clearly distinguishes the *dipping* from the *sinking*. To baptize, then, according to his doctrine, is not to sink. I perfectly agree with him. Dr. Carson might sink, without being baptized, from the lofty elevation of talent and character which I cheerfully acknowledge he occupies, (and no one more cordially prays that he may occupy it with additional lustre for the good of the church until his death than I do,) to the low level on which most unjustly he places his Pædobaptist opponents. As therefore to baptize is not to sink, which the Baptists are ready enough to assert in certain circumstances, (and none



more ready than Dr. Carson, with the bladder of Theseus before him,) we must not allow the word *dip* to shift into *sink*, when the former will not do in the place of baptize. It may be said,—Does Dr. Carson, who says the bladder may dip but will not sink, ever shift the words, and make sink to manœuvre into the place of dip? Let us return to his book, p. 85.

If the reader will consult my lecture, he will see that a passage has been introduced into this controversy from Libanius—"He who bears with difficulty the burden he already has, would be baptized (overwhelmed) with a small addition." We asserted that to be baptized is, according to this passage, to be overwhelmed and not to be dipped. If the passage be translated, "is dipped by a small addition," every body would inquire, Is dipped into what? and if the answer should be, Into cold water, the reply would be, Where is the water of the passage? Such sentences try the honesty of controvertists. Dr. Carson shifts from *dip* to *sink*,—he says the burden causes the man to *sink*. But what have we to do with sinking? The man may sink under his burden to the ground, but unless he be pressed down into the ground he is not dipped. So Mr. Ewing cites a passage from Plutarch, "Baptized by a debt of five thousand myriads," not surely dipped by it; and Dr. Carson replies, "it represents the debt when on him as causing him to *sink*." But again, I ask, what have we to do with sinking? "To baptize," says Dr. Carson elsewhere, "is to dip, and nothing else." If it be so, why shift the word *sink*, which is not to baptize, into the place of dip? This is the kind of shifting which I find continually in Dr. Carson, who says he "never resorts to a shift."

I do not think he does: but the shifts continually resort to him; they creep over him insensibly in the eagerness of contention, and insinuate themselves craftily into his print, imparting a false colouring to his authorities. If to baptize be nothing else than to dip, as Dr. Carson says positively and frequently, why does he not invariably translate it to dip? I desire no other refutation of his book, as I think there can be no better, than an edition with no alteration whatever, except the word "dip," inserted in every instance for βαπτίζω, to the exclusion of sink, and submerge, and bury, and overwhelm, and every term interchanged for it. Josephus says "the robbers baptized the city," (De Bello, iv. 3.)—"oppressed the city," says Mr. Ewing,—"*sunk* the city," says Dr. Carson (p. 84). Dipped the city, he ought to have said, if baptize is invariably to dip; and dipped he would have said, if it would have made sense. If "dipped" will not make sense, it is not the meaning of βαπτίζω.

His own distinction between βαπτίζω and δύνω—baptize and sink, in his version of the Sibylline verse, peremptorily forbids him to interchange the words.

But to examine the principles of Dr. Carson is a more important object than to estimate his merits. So far as βάπτω is concerned, I have no controversy with him. He has expended a great deal of superfluous labour, as it appears to me, in reading through Hippocrates in quest of proofs of a usage which ought to be regarded as undeniable. For more than six hundred years the definition of Eustathius has been before the world, without having been ever seriously controverted, βάπτω, τὸ ἐμβιβάζω ποὶ τὸ ἐνιέμενον.\*

To the secondary sense, to dye, which Dr. Carson assigns to βάπτω, we can have no reason to object; as Pædobaptists have long contended for it, in opposition to Baptists, who have maintained that in dyeing only by dipping, it never lost its primary signification. Although Dr. Carson has said enough to satisfy his brethren, he has not, I think, produced the most decisive evidence which the idiom of the language supplies. The best proof of a complete change of the meaning, is a corresponding change of the syntax accommodating itself to the deflection of sense. When we read of the use of the word in dyeing wool, or colouring the hair, or staining the hand, the instances, as adduced by Dr. Carson, are quite satisfactory. But the syntax is not affected. The wool, the hair, or the hand, which would be dipped, if the dyeing were accomplished by dipping, is still the object of the verb. In the phrases, to dip the wool, and to stain the wool, the syntax is the same. But if the syntax is so varied as to make not the thing coloured, but the colour itself, the object of the verb,—as when we say to dye a purple—the secondary sense has then renounced all dependence upon the primary, and established itself by a new law of syntax, enacted by usage to secure its undisturbed possession. Dr. Carson might have produced a proof—passage from Plato, De Repub. lib. iv. 429, as of that passage respecting the work of dyers, he has given us the inexcusably inaccurate translation of Gale, of which, however, I adduce only the clause relating to our purpose—“no matter what dye they are dipped in.” Would any one think that this was the translation made by Dr. Gale, and cited by Dr. Carson, of the words, ἐάν τε τις ἄλλα χρώματα βάπτῃ, ἐάν τε καὶ ταῦτα, whether any one dye other colours or these also? Whether the χρώμα was the dye into which the wool was dipped, according to the version cited, or the colour

\* Comment. ad Odyss. Rhap. N. 398—401.

imparted to it, is not the question. Be it which it may, it is the object of βάπτῃ; it has gained in the syntax the place of the material subjected to the process; and therefore pleads a law of language, that βάπτω in the passage does not, and cannot, mean to dip, as the colour cannot be dipped, whatever may be done with the wool. Another instance may be found in Plato, (*Leges* iv. 847,) where the verbal βαπτὸς is in construction, not with the material coloured, as in Aristophanes and elsewhere frequently, but with the dye or colour, "purple, and whatever colours for dyeing" (βαπτὰ χρώματα) "the country does not produce." We have another instance in Lucian (*Cynic*. p. 1106. *Op. Ed. Amstel.*), οἱ τὴν πορφύραν βάπτοντες, those dyeing the purple. Dr. Carson has produced sufficient evidence in the use of words, but this syntax which he has overlooked I hold to be demonstrative.

Dr. Carson ought to have extended the secondary signification of βάπτω to several processes of manufacture which, like dyeing, were originally and usually performed by dipping. The tempering of metal, for instance, appears to have as good a right to the secondary sense of the word, as the dyeing of cloth. Metal, although usually tempered by dipping, would, I imagine, temper just as well if plenty of water were poured upon it. Ἀβαπτος, applied to metal, according to Suidas and Hesychius is untempered, or having no edge. Βάψις σιδήρου, in Pollux, is the tempering of iron.\* In the Agamemnon (595), Æschylus by the χαλκοῦ βαφαί, represented as unknown to women, must mean the tempering or edge of brass; for, I suppose, of the version of Schutz, "wounds inflicted by brass," Dr. Carson would say with Blomfield, "*cui minime assentior.*" Similar instances may be produced, but it may be asked, according to my own principles, has this usage assumed a syntax of its own? Sophocles in the Ajax (660) introduces his hero saying, "I endured horrible things, as iron with the tempering," (βαφῇ). Iron is dipped in water, but tempered with water. The scholiast on this passage says, "Iron is tempered in two ways. If they wish it to be soft, they temper it with oil (ἐλαίῳ βάπτουσιν); "but if to be hard, with water" (ὕδατι). As Dr. Carson elsewhere renders this dative in water, I must content myself with protesting against his rendering, while I look for a different construction. Another scholiast says the softened iron is βεβαμμένος ὑπὸ ἐλαίου, tempered by oil; for this phrase, whatever Dr. Carson may say, nobody else in all the world would translate dipped into oil.

But as the controversy is not, or ought not to be, about βάπτω, let

\* Ἀντιφῶν δὲ εἶρηκε βάψιν χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου.—J. Poll. *Onom. lib. vii.* § 169.

us proceed to its cognate βαπτίζω. I have in the lecture stated my reasons for thinking the latter term is more generic, or has a more extensive signification than the former. Dr. Carson admits no such distinction; but his own versions confirm my views, and show that βάπτω is more nearly than βαπτίζω related to the English verb, to dip. If the reader will go through his versions of the two words, it will be found that while he generally renders the former, to dip, he as generally renders the latter by some other word. On examining the second, third, fourth, and fifth sections of his second chapter, in which he collects instances of the primary signification of βάπτω, I find, if I count correctly, of the one hundred and four instances which he adduces, he renders it to dip, in one hundred and one, and in only three instances by other words, twice to immerse, and once to plunge. In the tenth section, in which he adduces thirty-seven citations of βαπτίζω, he renders it to dip only in seven instances; and by other words, as to baptize, to sink, to immerse, to drown, &c., in the other thirty. Such a difference could have been accidental, no more than the sun could have been lighted by accident. If it be asked, Why should βαπτίζω be rendered immerse and not dip; and βάπτω, dip, and not immerse, in several instances? I reply, Because immerse does not in common parlance so distinctly mark the mode, and is therefore more appropriate to the generic than to the modal verb; while dip belongs to the modal (βάπτω), rather than to the generic (βαπτίζω). Dr. Carson illustrates this distinction of the words immerse and dip. "If, on the top of a mountain, I am suddenly involved in mist, shall any one misunderstand me, when I say, that I was suddenly immersed in a cloud?" p. 330. Elsewhere he inquires, if we should not say that an army between two mountains was not immersed in the valley. But if, in either of these instances, the word *dip* were used, it would appear as strange as does his use of the auxiliary verb shall. In common conversation, *immerse* is so losing its etymological signification, as often to express only the position, as in the valley or the mist; but *dip* immediately suggests the idea of the mode of the action. Dip, continuing the modal verb, belongs more properly to βάπτω than to βαπτίζω, as Dr. Carson's citations show very clearly and distinctly.

But for this distinction I depend not alone upon Dr. Carson. To any list of citations, made without reference to this point, I carry the appeal. In my own veracity I have no right to challenge confidence, when I say, that in the course of my reading some years since, with no thought of such a distinction, I hastily translated the several sentences in which I found the words; and in forty-eight



instances of βάπτω, I rendered forty to dip, and six to dye; but of eighteen instances of βαπτίζω, only one to dip. The coincidence with Dr. Carson's lists may prevent my Baptist friends from charging me with telling an impudent falsehood. But let us turn to the essay of Professor Stuart in the Biblical Repository, April, 1833. The citations correspond very much with those of Dr. Carson; but as the professor says he did not see Dr. Carson's book until the close of his labours, his versions were not copied. Of βάπτω there are thirty-four instances, of which twenty-two are rendered to dip, and twelve by other words, chiefly equivalent as to plunge; but of forty-six instances of βαπτίζω, only one is rendered to dip, and forty-five by other words, frequently to overwhelm.\* I cite these instances to confirm the opinion expressed in the lecture, that βαπτίζω differs from βάπτω in not so nearly representing our modal verb to dip. I know no better evidence than translations made without reference to the question.

It becomes my duty to notice the explanations which Dr. Carson gives of the passages which I adduced in the lecture, to prove that βαπτίζω is a generic verb, to cover with water, or immerse in it in any mode, and not, as he calls it, the modal verb, to dip, and nothing else.

As to the Athenian oracle, I cannot do better than cite Dr. Carson's own words. His version is, "Thou mayest be dipped, O bladder, but thou art not fated to sink." But δύνειν, we still contend, is not to sink, but only to dip; if by sinking is meant descending an inch or a line below the surface. Will Dr. Carson deny that the action of this verb is completed by the heavenly bodies, at the moment they pass the edge of the horizon? Will he dispute with the lexicographers on their versions, *intro*, *influo*, *ingredior*, and similar words denoting entrance, it may be into a house, or into clothes, or into the sea, or into anything else? Καταδύνειν is more like sinking; but even that descending preposition κατὰ will not always carry δύνειν downwards. I will give him the verb doubly-headed with prepositions, penetrating and descending, sufficient to carry it to the centre of the earth, if it had the *sinking* tendency which he ascribes to it, and it shall still move horizontally. If he will turn to the "Life of Pythagoras," in his own favourite Porphyry, he will find that the philosopher is said to enter the temple, ἀδύτοις ἐγκαταδύεσθαι, which is only another form of the same verb. I need not refer him to Homer's καταδύναι ὄμιλον, or καταδύμεναι μάχην, in which even κατὰ

\* I have omitted the citations from the Septuagint and New Testament, as they may be suspected of betraying a theological bias.



fails to make *δύναι* sink. On referring to his own instances of the sinking of ships, in which both verbs are found, *δύναι* sinks the vessel by the aid of *κατὰ*: but *βαπτίζω* with no such weight appended is sufficient, as he knows very well, to sink the largest ship in her Majesty's navy. How then can he, in construing the oracle, make *δύναι* mean to sink, as distinguished from *βαπτίζειν*? Both words combine in the confutation of his rendering.

And is it not surprising, if anything could surprise us in the impetuous movements of theological controversy, that Dr. Carson, in so many other places, should render *βαπτίζω*, to sink, or at least surreptitiously introduce that word as its representative, but here should make this selfsame *sink*, his most obsequious servant, come out the antagonist of baptize, and in opposition to the characteristic meaning of the word? Observe the tactics of the great defender of the Baptists. What is to baptize? Something contrasted with sinking, for so he expounds the oracle, and yet something identified with sinking, for that word he often employs as its representative, as baptized in debt is according to him sunk in debt (p. 85). What is the difference between *βαπτίζω* and *δύνω*? The former is only to dip, but the latter to sink, according to him, p. 61. What is the greater difference between *βαπτίζω* and *καταδύνω*, to sink down according to the force of the preposition? "*Baptizomai* is coupled with *kataδυνο* as a word of similar import, though not exactly synonymous," according to him, p. 65. To sink serves both for the synonyme and for the opposite of baptize, as it may be needed, and therefore we say expurgate the book from that treacherous word, with which it is so easy to play fast and loose throughout the controversy.

But let us hear the Doctor in explanation; he says—"The obvious and characteristic distinction between the words is that *dunkein* is a neuter verb signifying to *sink*."—p. 61. This is only assertion, which I meet by counter-assertion. It is not to sink, but to enter. "But a thing that sinks of itself will doubtless sink to the bottom if not prevented." Doubtless it will! "It is therefore characteristically applied to things *that sink to the bottom*." This is the very thing. Let Dr. Carson produce the proof passage of this characteristic, and I will concede the argument. Let him show me *δύνω* without the aid of *κατὰ* going to the bottom of Styx, or any other water, and I immediately surrender the passage. He adds, "*Baptizein* signifies merely to dip, without respect to depth or consequence," [it has as much respect to depth and consequence as *dunkein*,] "and is as proper to the immersion of an insect on the surface of the deepest part of

the ocean, as to the sinking of a ship or a whale in the deepest part of the same." And so, as he knows very well, is *dunein*. Or where, as to size and depth, between the insect and the whale, the surface and the bottom, does *baptizein* end and *dunein* begin? "Both words might, in many cases, be applied to the same thing indifferently, but in their characteristic meaning, as in the above verse, they are opposed. The expression in this verse is allegorical, literally referring to a bladder or leathern bottle, which, when empty, swims on the surface; if sufficiently filled will dip, but will not sink." A nice process to produce the equipoise in the bladder between the inflation and the collapse so that it shall dip and not sink! "In this view it asserts that the Athenian state, though it might be occasionally overwhelmed with calamities, yet would never perish." How beautifully truth will unexpectedly develope itself! Overwhelmed with calamities is our baptism; the bladder overwhelmed with the waves, and emerging from them by its own buoyancy, is the very thing for which we contend. "There is another sense which the expression might have, and which is very suitable to the ambiguity of an oracle. You may yourself destroy the state, otherwise it is imperishable. A leathern bottle might be so filled as to force it to the bottom, though it would never sink of itself." Here *baptizein*, and not *dunein*, is made to send the bladder to the bottom; either word, as the Doctor pleases, may answer that purpose. All will concur with the worthy author that this sense "is very suitable to the ambiguity of an oracle." Dr. Carson concludes his remarks—"Nothing can more decisively determine the exact characteristic import of *baptizein* than this verse. It is *dip*, and nothing but *dip*." If, as is here intimated, there be no better proof, I appeal to the reader, if his case is not clean gone, and like the bladder, sunk of itself.

With regard to the next passage in the lecture, that from Aristotle, in which it is said, "the coast with rushes and sea-weeds is not baptized" (covered with water) "at the ebb," Dr. Carson says, "The peculiar beauty of the expression consists in figuring the object which is successively bare and buried under water." (The Doctor uses the word *bury* in several instances as a substitute for baptize, and evidently, in this instance, without regard to mode, not putting into but covering over.) "Or, being dipped when it is covered, and as emerging when it is bare." There is no disputing about taste, and therefore I can only say no passage appears to me to have less of the appearance of figure than this relation of a natural phenomenon. Unless a figurative sense be obvious, no one has any right to assume it. Again, the figure, if it be allowed, is in the member of the

sentence in which it is least to be expected; not where the idea of the swelling flood might suggest it, but in the bare negation, the uncovered shore. Dr. Carson is a better rhetorician than was Aristotle, and shows a great deal more taste than he ascribes to the author of the *Poetics*. "Dipped when it is covered, and emerging when it is bare," is the consistent language which he selects to preserve the metaphor from injury. But he makes Aristotle strangely to mingle the figurative and the literal, and to say instead of "dipping" and "emerging," "dipped" and "overflowed." The beauty of the imagery, whatever it be, is created by the genius of Dr. Carson, not by the skill of Aristotle, who commencing with his figure, sinks into dull prose; inspired by the muse at the beginning, is suddenly forsaken in the midst of his brief discussion, and so he dips not the coast into the sea, at ebb; (the beautiful figure!) and covers it with water, at the flood (the unadorned prose). The corresponding verb, *κατακλύζεσθαι*, destroys the figure. But if it do not, I ask the reader to consider whether any passage has less of the appearance of figure than this citation, or whether any figure can be produced, more unsightly in its form, more awkward in its movement, or more incongruous in its connexion, than this not dipping of the coast with all its rushes and fucus into the sea at low water? Dr. Carson adds, "In the same style we might say that at the flood, God immersed the mountains in the waters, though the waters came over them." This is exactly in the same style. He *might* say that God dipped the world into the flood, but I am quite sure he has too much good sense to preach after such a fashion, even to an Irish audience, passionately fond of all kinds of figures.

The passage from Libanius, of the man baptized by a small addition to a heavy burden, I have already noticed. Dr. Carson's explanation is, "The burden causes the man to sink." But *βαπτίζω* is, according to the ablest defender of the Baptists, to dip, *not to sink*. I ask again, Does it cause him to dip into the earth, or to dip into what substance? We are not surely to be amused with an image of a man swimming with a burden upon his head, to which certainly a very small addition, as a very small burden, would cause him to sink.

By the aid of figurative license, and by substituting sinking or other unauthorized words for dipping, Dr. Carson can easily carry his point. His axiom is, "One mode of wetting is figured as another mode of wetting, by the liveliness of the imagination." Grant me the use of this axiom with a lively imagination, and I will easily prove the word in dispute to mean any kind of wetting whatever.

Let it be to wet by covering with water, I take my passage from Aristotle on the baptism of the shore by the overflowing tide. To all opposing passages I apply the axiom, and what beautiful figures rise before me! with what lively imaginations these Greeks must have been endowed! One mode of wetting is figured by another mode, and all modes are figured by the overflowing tide of Aristotle.

On leaving the class of passages which represent baptism as overflowing or covering with water, I propose two inquiries. If βαπτίζω, as to the mode, be the same as βάπτω, how is it that in the hundred and fifty instances of the latter verb, in its primary signification, there is no occasion to substitute the word sink or bury, or anything else, for a good, honest dipping? and, secondly, what is there in βαπτίζω which so captivates the poet or orator, as to induce him when he rises to the elevation of "figuring one mode of wetting by another mode," to select it to the utter rejection of its cognate? Βάπτω was indeed a poetic speaker in the lively imagination of Dr. Gale, and the older Baptists; but Dr. Carson has reduced him to the proprieties of prosaic discourse.

If the idea of overwhelming, as in Aristotle and elsewhere, be not in the proper usage of the word, but in the play of the imagination, why in all the instances should βαπτίζω, and not βάπτω, suggest itself to the lively imagination of the Greek? Why should the former arrogate all the poetry? I propose not a challenge, for I do not write in that spirit, but as an anxious inquirer after truth. I ask our Baptist friends either to produce instances in the use of βάπτω, "of one mode of wetting figuring another," or to explain the ground of the difference. If they will do this out of pity to an erring brother, they will do much to make me a convert, and probably many others whose conversion would be of far more importance. Dr. Carson intimates that the greatness of things baptized has something to do with the difference between the verbs, but this surely cannot affect their figurative use. Besides, in the first instance we meet with a form of βαπτίζω in the range of Greek literature, it is in connexion with a fisherman's cork, little enough for any purpose of dipping. We are here, I am sure, open to conviction, as it appears to me the hinge upon which much depends, after having spent in vain many wearisome hours in seeking for instances of this poetic use of βάπτω corresponding with βαπτίζω. If it exists, pray let us know it.

But I must say, we are not to be referred to Nebuchadnezzar dipped in dew in the book of Daniel. As it is expected that everybody who embarks in this controversy should notice this passage,



and as I may not find a more convenient opportunity, I will just advert to it. The phrase, as every one familiar with this dispute knows, is ἀπὸ τῆς δρόσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐβάφη. Dan. iv. 30. I am not ashamed to acknowledge I do not understand these words. If they be Greek, I am not scholar enough to translate them. It appears to me that the translator has closely followed the Chaldee idiom, in selecting both the preposition ἀπὸ, and the verb βάπτω, as corresponding in some respects to the Chaldee כַּסָּה, which seems, according to the analogy of the Hebrew and Syriac, sometimes to mean to colour. The Chaldee is plain enough—"he was made wet from the dew." If ἐβάφη be a correct translation, it of course must mean the same thing; but I feel bound to acknowledge its inaccuracy so far as I can understand it. Theodotion's version of Daniel is said to have been substituted for that of the Septuagint, on account of the inaccuracies of the latter; but Theodotion himself was not infallible in Chaldee. Dr. Cox builds some argument upon the peculiarity of the second aorist tense of the verb, which I cannot refute, as I do not understand it; but he will find, if he consult Montfaucon's edition of the fragments of the Hexapla, that in the twenty-second verse other Greek versions employed the future tense βαφήσεται, which was also the reading of Chrysostom, (in Comm.) Dr. Carson appeals to the original Chaldee, and says, "How can mode be excluded, if it is both in the original and in the translation?" But is it in the original? Gesenius gives the meaning of the word to wet, to moisten, in both states. Although he says, "otherwise to immerse, to colour," yet to wet is his version. If, therefore, Dr. Carson will maintain that the Chaldee verb is one of mode, he must carry on the controversy with Gesenius and the orientalists. He thinks the expression is intelligible and beautiful in our own language, and offers three poetic illustrations; one which he says we hear every day—"The man who has been exposed to a summer-plump, will say that he has got a complete dipping;" of which phraseology I can only say, although I have lived some years in the world, I never heard it in my life before: another from Virgil in the beautiful lines—

Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit  
Reliquias vino et bibulam lavere favillam.

The third is the phrase of Milton, "colours dipped in heaven." This translation of Daniel must be a curious passage. I have before me a Baptist writer, who says it is a proof of the thorough drenching of baptism in the thick eastern dews; and a Pædobaptist, who says it proves baptism may be the gentlest effusion. Dr. Carson



thinks the man has no soul who does not feel the inspiration of the figure, as if Theodotion,—whose fancy I am sure in no other word of his version ever reflects a sunbeam of poetry,—turning his poetic eye on the sparkling of the dew-drops, saw the maniac king as the three great poets, cited by Dr. Carson on the passage, would have seen him, with “colours dipped in heaven.” To me, on the other hand, the translator of Daniel appears creeping on the literalities of his original, and afraid of indulging his fancy even in the accommodation of his preposition to Greek usage. And withal, the word has nothing to do with baptism; for it may mean a thousand things which do not belong to its cognate βαπτίζω. I have only to add, when we ask the Baptists for the figurative use of βάπτω corresponding with the figurative use, as they call it, of βαπτίζω, or the reason why at the sight of one word the writer should so often soar to the top of Helicon, while the other never raises him from the low ground of prosaic life, let them not exhibit Theodotion bewildered with a preposition, as a poet with “colours dipped in heaven.”

As the third class of instances to which I referred are not noticed, I proceed to the distinction which has been suggested between the two words under consideration. As Dr. Carson is too well acquainted with the tendencies of language to suppose that two words, however they may be related, would run through a course of ages in parallel lines, he does not proceed without adverting to the distinction between βάπτω and βαπτίζω. He thinks that the former means to dip, and the latter has the causative sense, and denotes to make to dip. Of this distinction, however, he adduces no proof passage; nor can I perceive the slightest reason for it, unless it be that it exists between the forms of some other verbs of two terminations. But for the same reason βαπτίζω might be made a frequentative, or a continuative, or many other things, for any list of the verbs in ζω is sufficient to support the assertion of Buttmann that they can be brought under no one class. Because δειπνέω is to sup, and δειπνίζω to give a supper, we have no right to infer that the same distinction exists in the verbs before us. Besides, this distinction is without a difference, at least without such a difference as exists in other simple and causative verbs; for as Dr. Carson justly observes, “if we dip an object in any way, we cause it to dip or sink.” (This word *sink* is everlastingly intruding.) According to this distinction we can never do the action of one verb without doing the other,—can never dip without causing to dip; but to sup and to give a supper, to be rich and to make rich, and all other verbs of this kind, so far as I can recollect them, imply a plain and palpable difference; for many

miserly people sup, without inviting to supper,—are rich without making rich. Again, Dr. Carson attempts to sustain his shadow of a distinction by shifting the sense of the word: βάπτω is to dip—the transitive verb, to put a thing into the water, and not the neuter verb, to dip, or go into the water. In the causative the sense is shifted from the transitive into the neuter, as when he says the causative “is applied to ships which are made to dip.” This dip of the ships is not βάπτω, the transitive, but the neuter into which it has shifted. Lastly, βαπτίζω is not causative to βάπτω, for if it were it would mean to induce others to dip; as if a master compelled his servants to dip,—the master would baptize, or cause to dip—while the servant would not baptize, but only dip. But is there in all the Greek language (I ask Dr. Carson, for I am sure he has read a great deal more of it, and to a great deal better purpose, than I have) any appearance of such a distinction? For these reasons I do not believe there is any foundation for the opinion that βαπτίζω is causative to βάπτω.

Nor can I see proof of the continuative sense of βαπτίζω,—although it is applied to ships, which are submerged in the ocean and rise no more. This opinion has been supported by two able writers in this controversy, the correspondent of Mr. Ewing and the author of the *Essays in the Congregational Magazine*; but I need not advert to it, as I fully agree in all Dr. Carson has said in its refutation.

There remains, so far as I know, no other distinction (I mean in the primary sense) than that which I have suggested and defended in the lecture. With the exception of the compound in Pindar, standing by itself in the relics of Greek literature, we have, I think, the earliest use of the verb βαπτίζω in Plato and Aristotle; and in their instances it is used as the verb βάπτω could not have been used, meaning, to overwhelm; be it, as I say, the proper sense,—or be it, as Dr. Carson says, a figurative use of the word. These two philosophers use it as the simpler form is never used, and so the verb, covering, not dipping, its object, is first introduced to our attention. If their index-makers and lexicographers are to be trusted, it is not found in the more common of the Attic historians, tragedians, or orators. It afterwards became more common, is frequently used by Polybius, who, if the lexicon of his words be correct, never uses βάπτω; and in the later writers, as in Plutarch, it is found occasionally occupying the place of βάπτω, which substitution, although I find but few instances in the earlier writers, is not opposed to the sense which I have given to the word. Βαπτίζω, in my view, has more breadth of meaning than βάπτω, and therefore, although the

earlier writers often employed it, where βάπτω would not answer their purpose, it might have been used occasionally as a substitute for βάπτω, under particular circumstances. Dr. Carson has well asserted the principle, (as with him it is an axiom,) that words in certain circumstances may be interchangeable, although they are not synonymous. There is in Dr. Carson one instance, as he gives it, from Hippocrates, of βαπτίζω being used precisely in the sense of βάπτω, only one among a hundred of its cognates; a fact in itself remarkable, although explicable in accordance with my views; but as I cannot find the reference in my edition, I must leave it without examination.

To explain the use of baptize, Dr. Carson adduces instances of figurative language in English. He cites from an Irish newspaper an account of a bog, which is said to have been submerged by the water, when the water came over it. Were he to translate this into Greek he might use βαπτίζω, but his familiarity with the language would forbid him to use βάπτω. To submerge is not to put into water, but to put under water, and in any way. Anything may be put under water by bringing the water upon it, precisely as we say, to lay the meadow under water, by overflowing it. This use of the word occurs both in Latin and in English, and in prose as plain as prose can be. It suggests to me a clear and convenient distinction; βάπτω, I maintain, is *immergo*, and nothing else as to mode; βαπτίζω is *mergo*, in all its modes and forms it is *immergo*, and *demergo*, and *submergo*, and every other merge, I believe, of English or Latin. It defines no mode of merging.

Let us now glance at the instances which we have cited from the New Testament, and a word or two will be necessary respecting our position, which, I must advertise the reader, is not in this Appendix exactly what it was in the lecture. In the lecture I had to show the difference between the usage of the New Testament and that for which our Baptist brethren contend. To maintain a part of the averment of the lecture, that to baptize in the New Testament is not to dip, is the business of the Appendix: to maintain the other part, that it is not to overwhelm, will be my duty, in addition to the evidence I have already offered, when I see those who concede the dipping and contend for the overwhelming. I see as yet no such adversary in the open field, unless it be Dr. Cox, who thinks that immersion may be effected by water coming up from below about the patient. I know not whether he has ever baptized in that peculiar manner; but if he has, and still refuses to rebaptize, although his brethren say that his mode is no better than sprinkling, he and I

might, I am certain, soon bring our difference to an amicable settlement. But I have unfortunately to deal not with the amenities of Dr. Cox, but with the arguments of Dr. Carson.

On approaching the New Testament, I find that Dr. Carson meets the objections from the Pharisaic baptisms, and from the difficulties of immersing the great numbers, under the circumstances mentioned in the evangelical history, by appealing to what, for his purpose, ought to be absolute demonstration,—the established sense of the word. With much more candour than some of his brethren, who seem to imagine that all is as plain as the baptism of a church member, with abundance of preparation, in a comfortable chapel, he adverts to these objections. His canon on these difficulties is,—“When a thing is proved by sufficient evidence, no objection from difficulties can be admitted as decisive, except they involve an impossibility. This is self-evident; for otherwise, nothing could ever be proved.” But if the canon be self-evident, why offer a reason for it, and a reason a great deal more doubtful than the canon itself? The meaning of this canon is, I suppose, that if the evidence in favour of a proposition preponderate over that against it, derived from objections, the objections are not decisive. If the positive signs taken together exceed the negative, the result is positive. But on this very account, the negative signs, the objections from difficulties, ought to be carefully compared with the positive signs, the sufficient evidence. In the instances before us, the objections being serious, the evidence to be sufficient ought to fall little short of demonstration. Our Baptist brethren will probably accept this explanation of the canon, and say their evidence is little, if at all, short of demonstration. Of the historical difficulties, I have already acknowledged that, on our side, we have sometimes pressed them too eagerly. Give me demonstration, and I immediately give up difficulty.

With regard to the objections which we found on the use of the word in the New Testament, in reference to the baptism in the Red Sea, and to that on the day of Pentecost, Dr. Carson asserts, that the expressions being figurative imply no real baptism. There was, according to his explanation, no baptism in the Red Sea, no baptism on the day of Pentecost, but only a trope in one instance, and a catachresis in the other. We must, therefore, return to the enchanted land of figure and fancy of which Dr. Carson is so fond; for I must do him the justice to say he is not like the unimaginative Pædobaptists, who having no souls cannot see the beauty of the figure which in Daniel dips Nebuchadnezzar into the dew, and in



Aristotle puts the Spanish shore into the ocean. Having in the lecture adverted to this figurative exposition, I need not expend many words on recurring to it.

Dr. Carson's canon that "one mode of wetting is figured by another mode of wetting, by the liveliness of the imagination," although it is capable of doing great marvels, will scarcely carry us across the Red Sea, or over the day of Pentecost, because, as he assures us, there was, on those occasions, no wetting at all. But, he says, "the passage of the children of Israel through the Red Sea is figuratively called a baptism," [a passage called a baptism!] "from its external resemblance to that ordinance, and from being appointed to serve a like purpose, as well as to figure the same thing."—p. 119. How should the passage of the Israelites through the sea have "an external resemblance" to dipping, "serve a like purpose," or "figure the same thing?" The reply is, "the going down of the Israelites into the sea, their being covered by the cloud, and their issuing out on the other side, resembled the baptism of believers." The reader who has seen the baptism of a believer may judge of its "external resemblance" to the passage of a million and a half of people, on dry land, in a wide and open way, between the upright waves, at a great distance from many of them, as we infer from the numbers (probably some miles). Does Dr. Carson mean that the Israelites went through a sort of corridor, with the sea on each side, and the cloud resting upon the water? What else he can mean when he says there was "a real immersion," I cannot imagine. He is somewhat severe upon those who say the Israelites were baptized with the rain or the spray. "This is quite arbitrary." "It is not in evidence that any such things existed."—p. 119. "On the Israelites there was neither rain, nor spray, nor storm."—p. 413. Nor is it in evidence that the Israelites were under a cloud *at the time* in which they were passing through the sea; but it is in plain contradiction to Scripture, for "the pillar of the cloud went from before their face and stood behind them, and it came between the camp of the Egyptians, and the camp of Israel."—Exod. xiv. 19, 20. The sea was dry to such an extent that the nation whose men of war, above twenty years of age, exceeded six hundred thousand, besides the Levites and their wives and children, their herds and flocks, their tents and furniture, crossed in safety, followed by the armies of Egypt. Dr. Carson says of this open space, wide enough for the population of Ulster or of Scotland to pass in a few hours with their cattle and property, "Surely there is no straining to see in this fact, something that may darkly shadow a burial." Very darkly, indeed! So darkly that I strain my eyes



in vain to catch a glimpse of it! But I accuse myself, for the man "has no soul," and "is a Goth," who cannot see this figure.

Calling this a dry baptism, Dr. Wardlaw is thus addressed. "Be patient, Dr. Wardlaw; was not the Pentecost baptism a dry baptism? Immersion does not necessarily imply wetting, immersion in water implies this."—p. 120. It would be uncivil in me to turn Dr. Carson into a vocative case in print, after the style in which he treats my venerable friend. This defender of the Baptists, accredited without reproof by their reviews, their subscriptions, their commendations, is, I believe, the only controvertist of the age who denies his opponents the common courtesy of oblique address. Notwithstanding the authority which thus catechises its vocatives, this dry baptism is a baptism in the sea, a baptism in salt-water. And if the fathers baptized in the sea had only a dry baptism, what is there to wet us in a baptism in Jordan, or even in the 'much water' of Ænon?

But figure there is in this baptism according to Dr. Carson, and figure of no ordinary kind, for, it seems, the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians is a lyric poem, written after the manner of Campbell's Ode on the Battle of Hohenlinden. The citation is curious, and so is the comment: p. 413—

" 'Few, few shall part where many meet,  
The snow shall be their winding-sheet,  
And every turf beneath their feet  
Shall be a soldier's sepulchre.'

"Would any Goth," asks Dr. Carson, "object that the snow cannot be a winding-sheet, because it does not wind round the whole body of the dying soldier? As the soldier, says the critic, was uncovered above, the snow cannot be his winding-sheet. And is he not a Goth, who says that the Israelites could not be buried or immersed in the sea, because they were not covered with water? But our critic must proceed: 'As the soldier lies on the turf, without any covering from it, it cannot be said to be the soldier's sepulchre.' What sort of criticism is this?"

This may be an answer for "Goths," but it is not for sober Christians. Was St. Paul writing lyric poetry? What would be thought if Campbell himself, professing to give an account of the battle, were to employ his own figures in prosaic relation, and to write, I would not have you ignorant, my friends, that all the soldiers slain in this field were buried in winding-sheets and in sepulchres? This style of prose, and not that of his poetry, would be after the

manner of St. Paul, as expounded by Dr. Carson: "Brethren, we would not have you ignorant that all our fathers were baptized in the sea." The soldiers were not buried at all. Yes, says the critic of Dr. Carson's new school, they were all buried in winding-sheets and sepulchres, for "he is a Goth" who does not see that the snow was their winding-sheet, and the turf their sepulchre; as all the fathers were baptized in the sea, and he is a Goth who does not see something, we cannot tell exactly what, that "darkly shadows a burial," or immersion. We may illustrate this criticism by another reference to the winding-sheet, belonging to a guide in the dangerous passes of the Alps—

"My sire, my grandsire, died among these wilds.  
As for myself, he said, (and he held forth  
His wallet in his hand,) this do I call  
My winding-sheet, for I shall have no other."  
*Rogers' Italy.*

According to the style of St. Paul, as Dr. Carson represents and admires it, the traveller in the Alps should have written home, I would not have you ignorant, my friends, that amidst the frightful precipices of these mountains, all the guides escort strangers in their winding-sheets. "He must be a Goth," says the pupil of Carson, who would not understand that the winding-sheets were wallets, for they would have no other. Do our Baptist friends expect us to answer such exposition as this, which in effect says, the fathers were not baptized in the sea, for St. Paul was only making poetry?

But its ingenious author has another reason for the apostle's selection of this word. St. Paul must have two or three reasons for doing one thing assigned by those who know nothing about the reasons of his conduct. The passage through the sea "figures the same thing," as Christian baptism; it "figured the burial and resurrection of Christ and Christians!"—p. 119. Is there in all Christendom a second man who believes that the passage through the Red Sea "figured the burial and resurrection of Christ and Christians?" This, if true, is indeed a great sacrament; yet it is nowhere noticed in all the Scriptures; no intimation of the wonderful sign is given in the Jewish history; no annunciation of it is made to the church. Were it not for one or two fanciful Fathers who saw sacraments in every thing, this prefigurement might have been applauded as the great discovery of modern theological science. I appeal again to candid Baptists, are we bound to notice such figures recently discovered "by the liveliness of the imagination?"

With respect to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, Dr. Carson has

some important and valuable observations. He shows, as I think, in a very conclusive manner, that baptism cannot be emblematical of the pouring out of the Spirit, because that phrase is itself only figurative, and can have no relation to mode. He adds (p. 422), "in like manner I disposed of sprinkling as an emblem of the sprinkling of the blood of Christ. It cannot be an emblem of this, because the blood of Christ is not *literally* sprinkled on the believer. With all sober men this point must be settled for ever." I dare not speak for all "sober men." It is settled with me. I add, "in like manner" we "dispose" of immersion as an emblem of the burial of the believer with Christ, because the believer is not *literally* buried with Christ. The arguments on both sides for symbolizing modes of spiritual things, must rise or fall together. Without repeating what has been said in the lecture, I am glad to have the authority of Dr. Carson, that this point is settled for ever with "all sober men." How he contrives to make himself an exception I do not surmise.

He says (p. 107), "Though the baptism of the Spirit is a figurative baptism, to which there cannot be a likeness in literal baptism, yet as it respects the transaction on the day of Pentecost, there was a *real* baptism in the emblems of the Spirit." We here, I am happy to learn, leave the fairy land of figures and poetry, and approach the sober realities of fact. If we can only see "*a real baptism*," we may with truth and certainty copy the mode of performing it. God baptized with the emblems of the Spirit; the controversy comes to the crisis when we ask, *how* did he baptize? Let us hear Dr. Carson. "They were literally *covered* with the appearance of wind and of fire." Covered with the appearance of wind! What kind of an appearance? Yet this is "*a real baptism*"—no figure. "Now though there was no *dipping* of them," (yet this was '*a real baptism*,' says the Doctor, or he did say so a few lines before; but I am afraid he will shift his words,) "as they were completely surrounded by the wind and fire, by the catachrestic mode of speech which I have before explained, they are said to be immersed." The catachrestic mode of speech! Was ever anything so vexatiously disappointing? We were to be favoured with the sight of a *real* baptism, but the real baptism, like Ausonia to the Trojans, is ever receding from our view. The catachresis, I know, will work wonders, especially if aided by "the liveliness of the imagination," but I never before saw it convert a reality into a figure. Thus much is certain, for I cordially agree with Dr. Carson in both his assertions, let what will become of the catachresis, "there was a *real baptism* in the emblems of the Spirit," "although there was no *dipping*." Yet in the reality, he

is enamoured with figures, and finds them everywhere; he has tasted lotus, and cannot leave the pleasant land in which it grows.

He adds, "There is another grand fallacy in this argument. *It confounds things that are different.* Water is poured into a vessel in order to have things put into it. Water is poured into a bath in order to immerse the feet or the body, but the immersion is not the pouring. Our opponents confound these two things. A foreigner might as well contend that, when it is said in the English language water was poured into a bath and they immersed themselves, it is implied that pouring and immersing are the same thing." (p. 108.) But how do we confound these things? If the water is put first into the bath, and the feet afterwards, there is immersion: if the feet are there first, and the water is poured afterwards, there is no immersion. How was it at the Pentecost? Did the emblems fill the room before the apostles entered? If so, we do confound the two things. But if the apostles were in the room first, and the Spirit came upon them, in this real baptism there was no immersion. What saith the book of the Acts? How readest thou? Were the emblems of the Spirit poured down first, that the disciples might be put into them? Be it where it may, this grand fallacy of confounding different things is not with us.

Dr. Carson continues, (p. 110,) "The wind descended to fill the house, that when the house was filled with the wind" (this philosophy of a house full of wind is not of Scripture, I would have sceptics take notice, lest they should profanely ask, was it ever empty of wind? or if there were more than usual, what kept the building together?) "the disciples might be baptized with it." (But they were not dipped into it.) "Their baptism consisted in being totally surrounded with the wind, not in *the manner* in which the wind came." Of course, he means, came upon them. Will you believe me, gentle reader, that his book is written to prove that to baptize is a modal verb, referring exclusively to *the manner* in which the action is performed; the manner in which the wind, or water, or baptizing fluid encloses a person, by his being *put into it*, and not by *its coming upon* him? We see at last the baptism of the bladder by the wave falling upon it,—the baptism of the shore by the tide rising upon it,—our baptism and not his, who says, "If all the water of the ocean had fallen on him, it would not have been a literal immersion," p. 36. As Dr. Carson says this is both "a real baptism," and yet only "a baptism after a catachrestic mode of expression," is it surprising he should imagine his opponents "confound things that are different?" Is he to be allowed to make this baptism



“real” or “catachrestic,” as it may successively suit the various stages of his argument? Here is baptism without immersion, “a real baptism in the emblems,” which were *shed forth* upon the disciples. Dr. Carson replies, for such is the end of all his shifting, Then immersion is not immersion. My rejoinder is, The Doctor’s language and that of St. Luke do not correspond. He may possibly reiterate his own words, “If the angel Gabriel say so, I will bid him go to school,” and then I am fairly brought to a nonplus. To such a champion of the Baptists a mortal can only reply, You must put St. Luke under the same schoolmaster.

The objections which we find in these passages, as well as the difficulties in making immersion correspond with the references to Jewish and Christian baptisms in the New Testament, are in Dr. Carson’s estimation to be utterly disregarded, on account of the overwhelming evidence which he professes to have adduced in favour of the meaning of the word baptize.

We assert a secondary meaning ascertained in the usage of the New Testament, and he denies us a hearing. We say the apostles call that baptism in which there was no immersion; and he replies, No one before them ever called it so, and therefore they could not have given that designation to any religious rite which was administered without immersion. “I give my opponents the whole range of Greek literature, till the institution of the ordinance of baptism.” Nothing can be more unfair. A secondary sense is found, as we maintain, in connexion with the religious ordinance. Without accounting for this signification, we offer proof of the fact. How the appropriation arose we do not affirm; but as the word supper was appropriated to a religious ordinance instituted after supper—as the word denoting to stretch out the hand was appropriated to giving the suffrage—or to the act of election when there was no stretching out the hand—as such appropriations continually occur, so we maintain the word baptize became appropriated by the Jews before the time of the apostles, or by the apostles themselves, or by others with their sanction, to instances of a religious rite in which there was no immersion. That the word was appropriated to the religious rite, or rather to several religious rites, is evident; because the more common verb βάπτω, which more usually and more properly denotes dipping, is never employed to designate any ritual use of water, Jewish or Christian. As soon as we meet with the religious rite, we find the verb βαπτίζω appropriated to its designation. As soon as this rite obtained its name, we contend for a secondary signification of the word, and we have offered what to us appears satisfactory evidence of the fact.



“But,” says Dr. Carson, “you cannot prove your secondary signification before the institution of the religious rite.” Nor do we care to prove it. We offer evidence of a secondary sense in connexion with the religious rite. To require the evidence of the usage from previous writers, or from writers who knew not the religious institute, appears to us as unreasonable as to refuse to hear any exposition of the Greek words of which the terms law, justification, sanctification, resurrection, spirit, angel, and many others are the representatives, unless it be in accordance with the ideas which pagan poets and philosophers attached to them. Such an exposition, if carried to its full extent, would convert Christianity into paganism. Am I to attach to the term the Son of God, only the same idea as did the pagan centurion at the foot of the cross?

Dr. Carson himself supplies a far better illustration. We are required to justify the appropriation for which we contend, as found in the New Testament by examples from previous writers, that is, by examples of an appropriation of which, unless they were familiar with Jewish usage, they must have been utterly ignorant; and we do not know that the appropriation existed even in the usage of the Jews previously to the Christian era. He contends, in opposition to the older writers of his denomination, that the verb βάπτω came by appropriation among the dyers to denote to dye or colour, not only by dipping but by staining, in any manner. That he proves his point I need not say, for how it ever could have been a question with any who understood the difference between βαπτιστής, a baptist, and βαφεύς, a dyer, it is not easy to explain. But if the ghost of the most learned Gale, or the venerable Booth, or if some surviving brother of their opinion, were to say, I will give you “the whole of Greek literature till” the invention of dyeing, to find the examples, and you never can show that βάπτω means to dye; or if, as the early literature of Greece has faded, and all that remains is stained by the dyers, he were to say, “you must admit the word was never so used before the invention of dyeing,” such an objection would be worth just as much, or just as little, as the demurrer which Dr. Carson puts in to prevent a hearing from the apostles on behalf of their appropriation. We say that an appeal to the writers of the New Testament, without a word of recommendation from pagans, is quite sufficient to determine the appropriation of innumerable words which designate the doctrines, rites, and other peculiarities of the Christian religion. Will Dr. Carson, who is fond of ascribing Unitarian canons and predilections to his opponents, assert that in the first verse of John’s gospel—in the clause, The Word was God,

—we are to attribute to the term *Θεός* no other ideas than Greek poets attributed to it when they called their heroes divine? In baptism, unless the Jewish or Christian rite was known, the appropriation for which we contend could not have prevailed. The fair mode of proposing the subject would have been for Dr. Carson, as he contends for the primary use of the word, to have propounded his proof passages down to the time of the institution, and, stopping where we say the secondary sense appears, to have imposed upon us the proof from passages of that age, and from the writers who employed that secondary sense. We cite Paul and Luke for a usage which Xenophon and Plato did not understand.

But does Dr. Carson confine himself to the chronology in which he so severely and straitly binds his opponents? He gives us “to the very hour” of the institution; does he never wander across the boundary which he himself so strictly prescribes? As he gives the primary signification, and we contend for the secondary, it is reasonable that he should bring his proofs from the earlier writers, and leave us, if we are able, to show the subsequent usage. The Fathers, he tells Dr. Beecher, are too late; the use of the word in the New Testament is subsequent to the institution of the rite.

Let us then hear his own enumeration of his authorities taken from his table of contents.

“Section X. Examples of the occurrence of *baptizo*, to show that the word always signifies to dip, never expressing anything but mode.

“Examples of *baptizo* from Polybius, Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus Siculus, Lucian, Porphyry, Homer, Heraclides Ponticus, Themistius, Septuagint. Quotations from Æsop, Josephus, Hippocrates, Polybius, Dio, Porphyry, Diodorus Siculus.” Contents, p. xiv. Here is a formidable array of authorities to prove that *βαπτίζω* always signifies to dip, and never expresses anything but mode. We assert that not one of these authorities proves anything of the kind; but as the Doctor confines us to Greek literature existing previously to the institution, let us see how far he observes his own limitation. I say this, having no desire to exclude from the argument the authorities subsequent to the Christian era, for they will be found on examination to correspond exactly with their predecessors. But as this limit is strictly defined by Dr. Carson, we are tempted to inquire to what extent he imposes a restriction upon others which he does not himself regard; and on examining the earlier writers, we are freed from the suspicion of making an unfair selection of his authorities.

Strabo, I suppose, we must allow to come within the limitation.

As Dr. Carson gives us the whole range up "to the very hour," and Strabo was contemporary with John the Baptist—for they died, I think, in the same year—we may allow him to have written before baptism was instituted.

Plutarch and Lucian are a hundred years too late.

Porphyry, of whose baptism in Styx I suppose the reader has no wish to hear anything more, died in the year of our Lord 304.

Homer is unobjectionable on the ground of antiquity, and quickly I turned to the reference to see what he had to say about βαπτίζω; for, old as he is, his opinion would be the greatest novelty which Dr. Carson has introduced into this controversy. But the Homer of the index is no Homer in the text, but only two Greek critics upon his writings. The one is pseudo-Didymus, not the true Didymus, called brazen-bowelled (*χαλκέντερος*), because, unlike your students of this degenerate age, he vigorously pursued his daily and nightly studies undisturbed by the horrors of dyspepsia. The other, Dionysius, we will allow to be the historian of Halicarnassus, for it is not worth while starting a controversy on the age of a passage which proves nothing. Themistius lived about three hundred years after the time.

As to Æsop, as Dr Carson has read Bentley's Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris—for every scholar has read it—and especially as he gives us no reference to the particular fable, that we may examine the class to which it belongs, he will not expect us to admit the Æsop of his citation to be the Athenian slave or any other witness of the proper age. Josephus is too late, and so is Dion. Porphyry, being a great favourite, is produced a second time with the same citation. Of fourteen authorities, including the Septuagint, which Dr. Carson produces to prove the meaning of βαπτίζω, seven are excluded by the rule which he himself imposes. He refuses to hear them if they have anything to say in our favour, prompt as he is to appeal to them in his scarcity of authorities; for seven men make small show from the whole range of Greek literature, to determine a dispute which has so long distracted the Christian church. Omitting the Septuagint for the present, let us inquire how far the other six prove that βαπτίζω is a modal verb, "never expressing anything but mode;" that it "always signifies to dip;" and we shall find that they express being in or under water, either without any reference to the mode, or with such reference as intimate as great a variety of modes as could have been reasonably expected in the number of instances.

Polybius speaks of soldiers baptized up to the breast in a difficult

march through water, in two instances; but the expression may denote they marched covered with water up to the breasts, as well as dipped in water. Indeed, the former is the more natural sense, as the expression refers not to the act of dipping, but to the continued annoyance of marching in the water. So he speaks of their being baptized in the marshes; in which passage he distinguished the verb from καταδύνω, “baptized and sinking in the marshes.” He also applies the term to ships (a very common application of it), which whether overwhelmed, or engulfed, or run down, or sinking in any way, are said to be baptized. In these several applications Polybius uses the word seven times, and in no other, if the combined acumen of Casaubon, Ernesti, and Schweighäuser in the *Lexicon Polybianum*, is to be trusted.

Strabo is cited for a similar phrase, “baptized up to the middle.” He also applies the word to things which do not sink in certain waters on account of their buoyancy, as in the lake near Agrigentum, and again in a stream in Cappadocia, and again in the lake Sirbon, in which a man cannot be baptized, but is forcibly borne up. The assertion is manifestly without reference to the mode, that these substances cannot be under the water. Indeed, the expression, “if an arrow is thrown in, it will hardly be baptized,” intimates, that the arrow may be dipped, but is not submerged, or covered with the water. Provided the substances be covered, Strabo proves nothing as to the mode.

Diodorus Siculus confirms the view I have taken of the sense of the word. He says—speaking of the overflow of the Nile—“The most of the land animals being overtaken by the river perish, being baptized”\* that is, being overwhelmed by the waters rising too rapidly for their escape. They were not put into the water, but the water came over them. If this be the passage cited by Dr. Carson, (and as he gives neither reference nor Greek, how can I tell if I am wrong?) nothing can be more unfair than his translation. His words are, “Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the sinking of animals in water,” (where is the *sinking*?) “says, that when the water overflows, many of the land animals *immersed in the river* perish.” Let the reader consult the words of Diodorus cited below, and then judge whether any controversial writer who can translate “immersed in the river,” ought to be trusted without the original citations of his authorities, or distinct references to them. There is another passage which Dr. Carson does not cite, in which the baptism is distinguished from the

\* Τῶν δὲ χερσαίων θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιληφθέντα διαφθείρεται, βαπτιζόμενα.—Lib. i. cap. 36; tom. i. p. 417, Ed. Amstel.



rushing into the water. Having described the defeated soldiery as driven into the river, he says, “the river flowing down with a more violent current” (on account of a great rain) “baptized many, and destroyed them swimming across in their armour.”\* The current overwhelmed them, and the river covered them.

Homer is the next authority within the prescribed age; but, as we have observed, the reference is not to Homer, but to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who is said to have written the life of Homer. Dr. Carson says (p. 59), “And Dionysius says, ‘In that phrase Homer expresses himself with the greatest energy, signifying that the sword was so dipped in blood, that it was even heated by it.’” Dr. Carson gives no reference; but as he cites the passage from Gale, we happily know how to identify it. Would it be credited, that there is not a word about *dipping in blood* in the original? Dr. Carson says, that one of his opponents is as guilty of forgery as if he appended a cipher to a one-pound note. I do not say his version is a forgery, because I dare not say it is wilful; but I do say it is false. The words are, as they are given by Gale, to whose citation Dr. Carson refers, Vit. Hom. p. 297: Πᾶν δ’ ἐπεθερμάνθη ζῖφος αἵματι· καὶ γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ περιέχει μείζονα ἔμφασιν, ὥς βαπτισθέντος οὕτω τοῦ ζίφους ὥς τε θερμανθῆναι.—Gale’s Reflections, p. 123. “All the sword was made warm with blood. For in this phrase he expresses greater emphasis, as the sword being so baptized as to be warmed.” Where is the “dipped in blood?” Will Dr. Carson defend his version by saying οὕτω has reference to the preceding αἵματι? Will he hazard that assertion? But it is not my business to find the defence. Dionysius says, that the sword was so baptized; and the obvious inference is with blood. To introduce the words “dipped in blood,” on the authority of Dionysius, is as sad a misrepresentation (truth compels me to use this language) as I have ever detected, where such things are too common, in polemical theology.

The next instance is from Heraclides Ponticus. The translation as given from Gale is, “when a piece of iron is taken red hot out of the fire, and put into water (*baptizetαι*), the heat is repelled and extinguished by the contrary nature of water.”

There is some doubt about this passage; but as I have no objection, I readily admit it. The words are, ὕδατι βαπτίζεται. The hot iron drawn from the fire is baptized with water, not in water. Why may not the water be put over the hot iron, as well as the iron be put into the water? The syntax sustains the former interpretation

\* Ὁ ποταμὸς βαιοτέρῳ τῷ ρεύματι καταφερόμενος πολλοὺς ἐβάπτιζε, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὀπλων διανηχομένους διέφθειρε.—Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. cap. 80; tom. ii. p. 142. Ed. Amstel.



rather than the latter; and if the iron were covered with water, the heat would be effectually expelled. This passage, therefore, can do nothing for dipping, and may, with much more reason, be cited against it.

The next authority is that of Hippocrates; who once, according to Dr. Carson, uses the verb in the sense of βάπτω. I cannot, for the reason already assigned, find the passage in any edition to which I have access, although I have no doubt of its correctness. The fact itself is extraordinary, that for the English word to dip the father of medicine should use βάπτω, I believe, one hundred and fifty times, and βαπτίζω, in the same sense, only once. There must be some reason for the introduction which deserves attention; but be that as it may, baptism, as we contend, may be effected by dipping, as well as by overwhelming; and so the instance, if unexplained, would not disturb our position. In two instances he speaks of a peculiar breathing, as of "persons after being baptized," which is applicable to persons having been under water, whether dipped or overflowed, and so they teach nothing concerning the mode; or rather, being used where no intention of expressing the mode appears, they confirm our opinion. The fourth instance, from Hippocrates, refers to the baptizing a ship by overlading it, and corresponds with the baptism of ships often mentioned in the later writers. Brought under water in any mode, ships are said to be baptized, often exposed to the storm and overwhelmed by the waves, as well as struck by the beak of an enemy, or overborne by the weight of the lading. The English word overwhelm will apply to almost all these instances; and if Dr. Carson doubts the propriety of so applying it, I refer him to that English authority which, above all others, he seems so much and so justly to respect. In the Essay on Miracles, Dr. Campbell says, "he saw the passengers carried down the stream, and the boat *overwhelmed*." In Greek, he might have said, as the instances prove, "baptized." But will any one from such instances contend, that overwhelm is a modal verb, denoting to put into the water, and nothing else? The argument would be quite as good as that which Dr. Carson educes from some of his passages. In all these instances, there is only one, the unexamined passage from Hippocrates, in which the word can be fairly translated to dip, and not one which serves the purpose for which it is adduced, of proving that βαπτίζω "always signifies to dip; never expressing anything but mode."

In noticing the citations from authors who wrote previously to the institution of baptism, I do not know that I gain any advantage, as those which Dr. Carson adduces from later writers are precisely of

the same character. Only one or two can be translated to dip. But as he imposes this limitation upon us, he suggests the most fair and convenient mode of examining his own authorities. Are these the authorities by which he sustains himself in asserting that βαπτίζω is a modal verb signifying to dip, and nothing else? As we contend it is not a verb expressive of the mode, but a verb the object of which may be effected by several modes, by superfusion as well as by immersion, we were prepared to hear of instances in which it was accomplished by dipping. We know not why things should not be baptized by dipping as frequently as by any other mode, and we confess we are surprised that so much labour and zeal has produced no more instances. The Baptists may smile at my scrupulosity; but I confess, I do not think it fair to represent the citations of Dr. Carson as a correct view of what may be said on their side of the question.\* I have not referred to the Septuagint. The passage to which Dr. Carson appeals is 2 Kings v. 14, "Naaman went down and baptized himself seven times in Jordan." Dr. Carson says he dipped himself; his opponents say, because, according to the law of his purification, the leper was to be sprinkled seven times,—he sprinkled himself. Agreeing as I do with Dr. Carson, for the Mosaic law of the leper is inapplicable in this instance, I can see nothing in the passage to determine the sense of the word. Prove from other passages that it means to dip, and there is no objection to admit that sense in this verse. Naaman was commanded to *wash*; and to ascertain the meaning of the word "baptize," we must look elsewhere, for there is nothing to expound it in the clause, "he baptized himself seven times in Jordan." Let baptize mean to dip, or to sprinkle, or to purify, or to do anything in Jordan,—this verse will not explain it.

Another instance in the Septuagint is—Isaiah xxi. 4, "Iniquity baptizes me." "Iniquity *sinks* in misery," says Dr. Carson, p. 86; "dips" he ought to have said. "Iniquity overwhelms me," is our version.

Judith at night baptized herself in the camp in the fountain of water. Those who contend that the word means in the dialect of the Hellenists to purify, assert that a Jewish lady ought not to be supposed to have immersed herself in the midst of a camp, to which soldiers might continually resort for water, and which could not afford the seclusion which to her would be indispensable. Dr. Carson

\* The earliest instance I know of βαπτίζω being effected by dipping, occurs in the poems falsely ascribed to Orpheus, but undoubtedly ancient. I notice it, lest I should be charged with taking undue advantage of Dr. Carson's failure.

Ἄλλ' ὅτ' ἐς Ὠκεανοῖο ῥόον βαπτίζετο Τιτάν.

Orph. Argon. 514.

thinks there is no difficulty, but that "the most scrupulous and even romantic delicacy is provided for in the retirement of a lady in a fountain in a valley," p. 318. To me her bathing in such a situation is about as incredible as is her cutting off the head of Holofernes, or the other incidents of this most ridiculous tale, in which no attention whatever seems to be paid to the verisimilitude of the narrative. Whatever others may be able to do, I can learn nothing from such a use of the word.

The passage in Sirach xxxi. 25, "He who is baptized from the dead, and toucheth it again, what does he profit by his washing?" appears to afford very little assistance in this inquiry. The form of the expression 'baptized from the dead' has been adduced to prove that the word must have obtained the signification of purify, because it could not be said, 'dipped from the dead.' However probable this may appear, I do not think we can with certainty infer more from the phrase than that the idea of purification was so associated with the word, as in some degree to affect its construction in this sentence. Without such an association, to 'baptize from the dead' is a phrase absolutely unmeaning; but I dare not assert that, even in this usage, to baptize is the same thing as to purify. It assumes the construction of words denoting to wash from uncleanness—precisely the construction which may be found on opening any Greek author, and turning to any page in which a cleansing from pollution is mentioned. It seems not worth while to cite authorities for what is familiar to every body; but as in this controversy I have heard the clamour for authorities in support of assertions quite as undeniable, I turn to the fragments "De Legationibus," published by Ursinus, and in the saying of Posthumius to the people of Tarentum, as he held up the official robe of the Roman ambassador, dishonoured by the pollution of their buffoon, as given in the version of Dion,—“This robe with your blood you shall wash” (ἀποπλύνητε) ἀπο corresponding with the ἐκ in the version of the same speech in Appian and in Dionysius (pp. 302, 344, 376,) has precisely the force of this ἀπό in baptizing from the pollution of the dead. Βαπτίζω is here construed as if it denoted to cleanse; but it may be assuming too much to infer from this construction that the verb actually denoted to purify, as whether the cleansing suggested by ἀπό had become by usage incorporated in the verb, or whether it is to be sought in an ellipsis of a verb of cleansing, we may not be able to determine. In adverting to all the instances, it becomes evident that there is nothing in the Septuagint to confirm the doctrine, that βαπτίζω is a modal verb, meaning to dip and nothing else. The reader may

now judge how far its sense is so clearly determined, so definitely restricted by the authorities adduced by Dr. Carson, that in approaching the New Testament we are not to weigh the difficulties and objections to his signification of the word ; but, absolutely overpowered by the irresistible force of his citations, we are to acknowledge, contrary to all the probabilities,—that multitudes were dipped, both of men and women, where water was precious,—that Pharisees expected their guests to be dipped before meals,—that Christians were dipped in the Holy Ghost and in fire,—and that the Jews were dipped in the Red Sea. I repeat that there is not produced a single instance from the classics previous to this era, to prove that this verb defines the mode and means to dip. Should it be said that according to my view of the subject there is a discrepancy between the classical and the scriptural use of the word, I admit the fact and when our Baptist friends have come to a good understanding with us about the classical sense, we may, I think, very soon and very amicably determine all other differences in this question. I feel that little progress can be made until we know the primary and classical sense of the word, wherein it differs from βάπτω and wherein it agrees.

I have not noticed the discussion between Dr. Carson and others on the supposed secondary signification of the word as meaning to purify, because that question has no connexion, so far as I perceive, with my argument. If, however, it be meant that in the language of the Jews speaking Greek, the word βαπτίζω had assumed the signification to purify,—not in its appropriation to a religious rite, the object of which was to purify, but in its ordinary acceptance, I must say I do not agree with the respected and able writers who seem to maintain that opinion. Dr. Carson is very fond of intimating that his opponents do not know their own business ; and I cannot but reply, I think he has not produced in this controversy the best citations in support of his own side of the question. He seems to need some decided passage in the writings of the Grecian Jews, in which the word would not be used if it had become commonly appropriated as a term of purification, for to the Hellenistic dialect the appeal is made. If he turn from the Septuagint, which does him no service, to the Hexapla of Origen, he will find that the words—“Thou wilt plunge me in the ditch,” (Job x. 31,) in the translation of which the Septuagint employs the verb βάπτω, are rendered by Aquila, ἐν διαφθορᾷ βαπτίσεις με—thou wilt baptize me in corruption. Although Aquila seems to have been no great Greek scholar, yet, as he made his version for the use of the synagogue, and con-



sulted the taste and feelings of the Jews in his deviations from the Septuagint, he would scarcely have selected the word, which the Jews usually employed to designate purity, to express the plunging in filth and corruption. Or is this one of the instances in which Aquila contrived to express his scorn and hatred of the Christians, which, according to Epiphanius, Eusebius, Jerome, and others, he was so prone to indulge? I have no wish, however, to interfere in this discussion; but truth compels me to say that there are some serious objections to the opinion which Dr. Beecher has defended with so much ability; and I should be glad to see them propounded in a calm and Christian spirit by one of our Baptist brethren, that we may have the opinion of the learned President respecting them.

To the citations from the Fathers Dr. Carson says in his replies to President Beecher, that they come too late. He had said, somewhat confidently, that he should as soon expect to find steam coaches and railroads in the Fathers; "Without exception they use the word always for immersion," p. 466. Finding, however, that this assertion deterred no one from appealing to them, and from showing that even if a shower of rain had fallen upon the thief on the cross, they would have made it good ecclesiastical baptism; Dr. Carson, on the ground, I suppose, that the term might have changed its signification among Christians after the institution of the rite, says, "The Fathers might prove a secondary meaning, while at the same time they prove that, in reference to the original institution, the word is used in its primary meaning," p. 483. So far from contróverting this remark, I acknowledge both its truth and importance; and no Baptist, I am sure, can be more desirous than I am, that the intelligent reader should keep it in view, and consider how far it ought to modify any conclusions which he might be disposed to draw from ecclesiastical testimony.

Some of the testimonies, he says, "are explicable from the passage in Cyprian's letters," p. 492. That is, from "the ecclesiastical baptism," about which Dr. Carson has spoken so incorrectly. This is his "answer to all the passages referred to;" and what an answer, let the reader of this Appendix decide. On "the ecclesiastical baptism," the Doctor reposes with wonderful calmness and satisfaction; and, secure on that tranquil elevation, he scarcely condescends to reply to his opponents who read the Fathers.

I stand, however, corrected, although I confess I had no suspicion of my error, as I ventured in the lecture to say, when speaking of burial in baptism, that believers figuratively died with Christ, before they were figuratively buried with him; for I assumed that our Bap-



tist friends did not profess to bury people alive. I find that I assumed too much. They do profess, if Dr. Carson expound their views, to bury alive, and to kill in the burial. I had no right to plead for the sign of the cross in the death of baptism, for death by crucifixion with Christ is not symbolized in immersion, but death by burial with him. Dr. Carson, in explaining how we die with Christ as well as are buried with him in baptism, says, "It is by burial we die. We are supposed to be buried into death, and the figure is well fitted for this purpose. To immerse a living man affords an emblem of death as well as of burial. The baptized person *dies under the water*, and for a moment lies buried with Christ. Christ our death was spoken of under the figure of a baptism," p. 157. But in his death was no immersion, and this figure shows the vanity of the Baptist explanation. Besides, what death is here symbolized by burying in a figure a living man, who "dies under the water?" Does it mean that he is emblematically drowned? Or, as the water represents the tomb of Christ, is it meant that figuratively the person dies by being buried with Christ? But to have placed a man in the tomb of Christ would not have killed him. Some men lived in tombs. So far as figuratively the believer has died with Christ, he has been crucified with Christ; and as in no other manner did Christ die, we protest against the representation of a believer as having died with him in any other manner. No other death is Christ-like, no other death is Christian. Death by burying alive is not death with Christ. I am crucified with Christ, and I acknowledge no other spiritual death. Moreover, at the moment of this spiritual death, this death in baptism, the person is said figuratively in baptism to wash away his sins.—p. 161. Were ever figures so strangely blended? I know not whether these are the opinions of all our Baptist brethren; but whether they are, or are not, I am compelled to say, in a serious spirit, carefully considering my words, if this be the Christian doctrine of baptism, were I convinced of the impropriety of sprinkling as a Christian rite, I ought not myself to be baptized, because I cannot understand the doctrine signified. I know not any death of the believer but crucifixion with Christ. In another death I cannot discern the Lord's body. I dare not say what Dr. Carson writes is unmeaning rant, because I may not have spiritual discernment, but to me it seems as unintelligible as anything I have ever read. Of one thing I am certain, if these views be correct, many of us are ignorant of the elements of the Christian doctrine, and we need some one, instead of disputing with us about the form, to teach us the first principles of the doctrine of baptism. We are not only unbaptized, but ignorant of that death with Christ which is signified in baptism.

To all that Dr. Carson says about the importance of strictly retaining the authorized form of the service, I would oppose a paragraph of one of the noblest writers in our language, whose generous spirit looking beyond the uncertainties of the ceremony, to the certainty of the glorious truth, would have all Christians one in the unity of the faith, whatever they may be in the distinctions of sectarianism. I cite his words, on leaving this subject, with the solemn profession that I have no wish to make a single convert to sprinkling, as my only object is to present the argument before our Baptist friends in such a manner as to induce them to respect our baptisms, as the honest deeds of honest men, who, having carefully considered the subject, have honestly arrived at their conclusion, and ought to abide by it in administering Christ's ordinance, seeing it is the result of such inquiry as they have grace and ability to conduct. Conscious of infirmity, exposed to error, I ask our Baptist friends to unite with us in the prayer, (after all he has said, I would travel many miles to hear Dr. Carson offer it, and forget, as I am sure he would, every hard saying,) "The good Lord pardon every one that prepareth his heart to seek God, the Lord God of his fathers, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary." I cite the words of James Douglas; and if they be thought no very suitable appendage to a controversial lecture, my reply is that my controversy on the form of baptism is entirely defensive; I attack no other baptism; I recognize all baptisms of Christian men; I avoid expressing a preference for any mode: my only conclusion is, "he that immerseth, immerseth to the Lord; and he that sprinkleth, sprinkleth to the Lord."

"Christianity consists of truth, of holiness, and of happiness. That the truth should be presented before the mind, and continually kept there, by human means, and by Divine aid, is all that Christianity can require. To contribute to this we have two signs, baptism and the Lord's supper, answerable to the two parts of salvation which are carrying on on earth, justification and sanctification, the washing away of sin, and the living by faith upon the Lord Jesus. Concerning the things signified by these signs, there is no dispute amongst those who take the Bible for their guide; concerning the mode of administering these signs, there are endless controversies amongst inquirers after truth, who, to all appearance, are equally sincere. Whatever is important in the Scriptures is clear in proportion to its importance; we may conclude, therefore, that the signification of these signs is highly important, but that the mode of administering them is not so, because very doubtful. It is clear

that every one should be allowed to choose for himself, and to use the sign in that way which most directly carries the mind to the thing signified. Controversy here is entirely out of place. It makes the sign of no effect, it distracts the attention from the thing signified, which alone is the useful contemplation, to the mode in which the sign is administered, which is altogether an unprofitable subject of thought; for the use of a sign is, that the mind may pass immediately from it to the thing signified. Thus these signs not being received in peace and faith, but being continually disputed about, are to controversialists not so much the signs of salvation, as the emblems of a peculiar party.\*

\* In reading Dr. Carson's work, I had overlooked the following passage, which appears to me virtually to concede the point for which I contend respecting the classical sense of the word βαπτίζω. In correcting an opponent he says (p. 293), "I am one of those overwhelmed by that mighty wave," ought to be translated, 'I myself am of those who were immersed under that mighty wave.' *The wave was the baptizer, and under the wave the persons were immersed.*" I have understood Dr. Carson as maintaining that to baptize is to dip or immerse into, and that the baptizer dips or immerses *into* something—not immerses *under* something—that is, the baptizer puts the baptized thing into something else. He speaks in the next page of "verbs of dipping, and verbs of motion in general," implying that baptize is a verb of motion, that is, it moves its object, or puts it into something. In the citation, does the wave move the person into anything? Does the baptizer, that is, the wave, put the person baptized into the water, or into itself, or into any kind of thing whatever? If the baptizer baptizes the baptized, by moving it into anything, it dips; but if it baptizes the object, leaving it at rest, by coming over it, all I contend for, as to the classical sense, is conceded. Does "immerse under" mean "put into?" If it does, Dr. Carson concedes nothing; if it does not, he concedes the point for which I contend. The translation of Dr. Carson, "I am one of those who were immersed under that mighty wave," seems clearly to imply that the baptizer, as he calls the wave, moving to effect its object, left the baptized person stationary. If so, baptize is not to move an object into anything, that is, it is not to dip. Not openly and frankly, but under the disguise of the outlandish phrase "immerse under," the point of classical dispute appears to me to be conceded. It is impossible to immerse in the strict sense of the term, that is, to dip, without immersing into something. *Into* what did the wave immerse the man, when he was "immersed *under*" it? If it be said, into the water, the man was in before; if into the wave, the wave came over him.

On p. 476, under the title, "passages which imply that immersion was the mode of baptism," we have the following argument. "Christ refers to his death as a baptism in a figurative sense; but if the word in a figurative sense signifies afflictions, the literal sense cannot be anything but immersion. Neither purify, nor sprinkle, nor any other supposed meaning, will admit the figurative meaning of afflictions as calamities. This is the figure also by which the calamities of the Saviour are figuratively designated in the Psalms. He is represented as overwhelmed with great waters."

I know not whether to call this a concession. But if the argument be good, it tells distinctly and directly in favour of "OVERWHELMING." Is the argument good? It proves baptism, by overwhelming. Is it bad? Let it be candidly disavowed; notwithstanding the awkwardness of disavowing our own arguments, when they prove our opponent's case. Is it good from the pen of Dr. Carson, but bad when corrected

by Pædobaptist use? It may be again asked, what do I gain by a concessor in favour of overwhelming? I reply, the gain may be discussed, when the concession is really made. Let the concession of baptism by overwhelming, or covering with water, be fairly and openly made by the Baptists, and we have a common position, on which, I am sure, it will be easy to bring this controversy to a satisfactory conclusion. I believe that, as it is, I have practically covered with water quite as much of the person as some of my Baptist brethren usually dip. At present, however, I only advert to the value of an argument in favour of immersion, from Christ being "overwhelmed with great waters."

On the subject of Greek prepositions, I have, on account of the length of these lectures, suppressed the remarks which I had prepared. I do this the more willingly, as I do not observe in regard to them any difference from Dr. Carson, in more than one particular. That particular relates to the peculiar use of the preposition *εἰς* in such phrases as "he died in (*εἰς*) Ecbatana," to which I have hastily adverted in a note. Dr. Carson contends, that in these instances the preposition retains its usual signification, "*into*." If it be asked how any man could die *into* Ecbatana, the elucidation of similar phrases in the New Testament is thus given: "He lodged into the mountain; the solution is, He went into the mountain to lodge." p. 300. "Wash into the pool, He was to go into the pool that he might wash." p. 300. "It is necessary for me to keep the feast into Jerusalem, that is, on the principle above explained, It is necessary for me to go into Jerusalem, to keep the feast." p. 301. "To die into Jerusalem:" "The sentiment fully expressed, is, I am willing to go into Jerusalem, to be bound, or to die." p. 301. "Philip was found at Azotus" (*into* Azotus). "Philip was found after he had gone to Azotus." p. 301. The solution suggested proceeds upon the principle of the grammarians, that the preposition *εἰς* implies motion in some verbs which in any other construction they would not possess; that is, having gone into Azotus, he was found in it; having gone into Jerusalem, he died in it, &c. That this construction, however admissible in certain instances, will fairly solve these passages, I do not believe; but if they would, what use can Dr. Carson make of such a solution in refuting his opponent? If it be asked, What has this to do with the controversy? the reply is, It refers to the phrase baptized in, or into, Jordan. An opponent had cited these phrases in proof that *εἰς* does not of necessity mean *into*,—with what success, let the parties interested determine, for I have no objection to the translation, "*into* Jordan." But the solution of Dr. Carson would allow us to translate the phrase, having gone into Jordan he baptized in it. Of what use is *εἰς*, if thus rendered, in determining the sense of baptize? Were baptize to purify, as his opponent contends, or to sprinkle, or to wash, or to drink, or to do anything whatever with water, John might go into Jordan to do that thing. This solution, therefore, says nothing in favour of dipping.

In conclusion, candour compels me to say that the passage which I inserted from Nicephorus, on the authority of Dr. Beecher, respecting the perfusion of Novatus, does not support either him or me. On consulting the original, I find the words, "if it is fit to call such a thing a baptism." Whether this clause refer to the man or to the affusion, I am sorry Dr. Beecher overlooked it; but I dare not suppress it. I hope no Baptist will charge me with the suppression, and overlook this note in which I correct the error.



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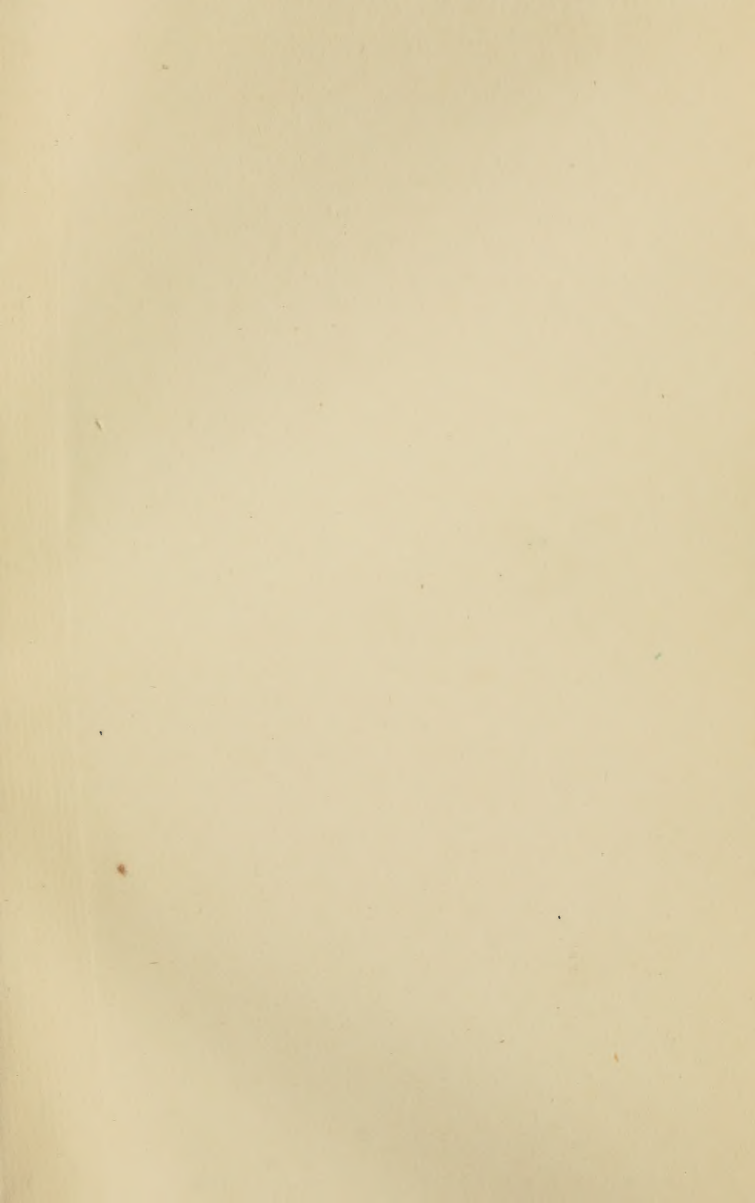
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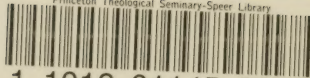
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